

The Relation
of
Shakespeare's Henry IV.
to Holinshed



Inaugural-Dissertation

der

Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Freiburg i. Br.
zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde

vorgelegt von

HERMANN AX



FREIBURG I. BR.
Buchdruckerei D. Lauber G. m. b. H.

Referent: Herr Prof. Dr. Brie, Freiburg i. Br.

Vorwort.

Ich widme diese Arbeit dem Andenken an den leider zu früh verstorbenen Professor Dr. Wilhelm Wetz, meinen verehrten Lehrer, der dieselbe angeregt hat.

Seinem Nachfolger, Herrn Professor Dr. Brie, sage ich für seine guten Ratschläge und Unterstützung meinen besten Dank.

Ebenso bin ich Mr. Hill in Freiburg verpflichtet, der die Abhandlung durchgesehen und mehrere sprachliche Verbesserungen angebracht hat.

Daß ich die Arbeit in Englisch abgefaßt habe, hat darin seinen Grund, daß ich sie in kleinerem Umfange zum Staatsexamen schon in dieser Sprache geschrieben hatte. Ferner glaubte ich, die zahlreichen Citate besser mit einem englischen als deutschen Text verbinden zu können und endlich war ich auch von dem Wunsche beseelt, mich im Gebrauche der englischen Sprache zu üben.

Wenn ich in meiner Untersuchung von „Geschichte“ spreche, so meine ich nicht die Geschichte, wie sie heute vorliegt, gestützt auf die glaubwürdigsten Dokumente, sondern die Geschichte, wie sie Shakespeare und seinen Zeitgenossen entgegentrat, die Geschichte der Chroniken, die oft historische Wahrheit mit Sagenhaftem vermengen und häufig mit Irrtümern, ja sogar mit Widersprüchen durchsetzt sind.

Wie wenig z. B. der rein historische Heinrich V. mit dem der Zeit Shakespeares überlieferten übereinstimmt, hat Paul Kabel in seiner Arbeit „Die Sage von Heinrich V. bis

Shakespeare“ gezeigt, und welche Auswüchse der geschichtliche Sir John Oldcastle gezeitigt hat, ist aus der Untersuchung von Wilhelm Baeske „Oldcastle — Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare“ ersichtlich.

Bei der Person des Oldcastle-Falstaff glaube ich allerdings nicht an die Absicht unseres Dichters, sie in irgendeine Verbindung mit der geschichtlichen zu bringen, wenn sie auch wirklich die ins Ungeheure gewachsene Zerrgestalt des historischen Ritters ist.

Shakespeare betont dies selber in dem Epilog des zweiten Teiles von Henry IV. und er mußte auch in Holinshed sehen, daß sein sogenannter Sir John Oldcastle, dem er später mit voller Überzeugung einen anderen geeigneteren Namen geben konnte, mit dem Ritter der Chronik, dem Märtyrer, wie er ihn nennt, fast gar nichts mehr gemeinsam hat.

Ich habe bei meiner Untersuchung auch das Verhältnis des Dramas zu den „Famous Victories“ berührt.

Ist das alte Stück so überliefert, wie es damals aufgeführt wurde, so konnte Shakespeare im allgemeinen keinen sehr großen Nutzen daraus ziehen, und außer einigen Szenen, die ihm als Grundlage dienten, konnte er nur einige Gedanken dieses rohen Werkes verwerten.

Möglich ist es aber, und die Volkstümlichkeit des Stücks macht es sogar recht wahrscheinlich, daß das Werk, besonders in den komischen Szenen, stark beschnitten überliefert wurde, da vielleicht auf der einen Seite zu starke Satire auf das Puritanertum, auf der andern Seite allzu große Schlüpfrigkeit der Sprache einer ungekürzten Wiedergabe entgegen war.

Wenn ich daher von Motiven sage, sie seien von Shakespeare erfunden, so meine ich damit, daß nach dem Stande der heutigen Shakespeare-Forschung eine Erfindung des Dichters wohl angenommen werden kann; ich will aber nicht damit behaupten, daß die Möglichkeit einer Abhängigkeit von den Famous Victories ausgeschlossen sei.

The relation of Shakespeare's Henry IV. to Holinshed.

"Vouchsafe to those that have not read the story,
That I may prompt them: and of such as have,
I humbly pray them to admit the excuse
Of time, of numbers, and due course of things,
Which cannot in their huge and proper life
Be here presented."

Shakespeare, Henry V. Act V Chorus.

If we should fulfil the task we have before us, it would not only consist in comparing Shakespeare's drama Henry IV. with its chief source, the chronicle of Holinshed, but also in stating what Shakespeare took from that historian and what he left out as not fit for the construction of his play. In this case, it would be necessary for our research to give it two chief parts, of which the first, a more positive one, would be based on the drama, the second, a more negative one, on the chronicle.

However, the second part being chiefly a quotation of such historical facts as did not find, or scarcely found, an application in Shakespeare's work, and the first part giving now and then occasion to point also to omissions, we shall devote especial consideration to the first part and abridge the second part, which will only contain an extract of the chief historical facts in Holinshed and their relation to the drama, into an appendix to the first.

But before entering upon our subject, we should like to say a few words about the composition of the play.

Henry IV. consists of two parts. The first was probably written in 1597, and followed, if not closely, yet at no great distance, the tragedy of King Richard II. The second part, which Shakespeare had perhaps not yet in view when writing the first scenes of the first part, but which began to take form in him towards the end of it, and is prepared for in the fifth act, may have been written in 1598. For Henry V., a play to which a certain date may be attributed by the historical allusion to Leicester's expedition to Ireland, was performed on the stage as early as 1599.

Shakespeare's drama Henry IV. does not entirely comprise the whole reign of that monarch, for the first year of Henry's government, the time from his accession to the throne, September 30, 1399, to Richard's funeral in the early spring of 1400, is represented in Richard II., and in the last act of the second part we have no longer Henry IV. before us, but his son Henry V., who bears now with right an inherited crown.

In order to give a closer connection to the historical plays which treat of the house of Plantagenet, Shakespeare seems to have followed the practice of not letting his dramas finish with the death of the respective monarchs, but introduced their successors towards the end of the play, or effected a connection in some other part of it. This practice is quite natural, because the death of a king, and a new reign include at the same time a point of chief interest, the catastrophe, which, as a rule, is represented in the fourth act. For example, in the last act of Richard II. the usurper Henry of Lancaster appears as king; Henry V. reigns already in Henry IV.; the funeral knell of Henry V. is heard at the beginning of Henry VI.; in the third part of that trilogy, Edward IV. takes Henry's place; and in Richard III. we see no less than three kings on the stage.

The only exception in the series of the historical dramas is Henry V., which, being an apotheosis, could neither bear a second personage of great interest besides the hero, nor finish with the premature death of England's "Alexander". But, if Henry V. occupies a special place in the historical dramas, it may also be said that Henry IV. keeps a place for itself. In Henry V., besides the points already alluded to, which give it a peculiar colour, it is the introduction of the chorus that brings the play near the antique drama. In Henry IV., the multiplication of comicality, of scurrility, all the scenes, where not King Henry, but Sir John, the king of the sack-quaffers, reigns, make us hesitate a moment to which category we should attribute such a play. Yet it is an historical drama, however many "Falstaff-scenes" it may contain. The skeleton is that of an historical play. But the comic scenes therein are, with few exceptions, so cleverly interwoven with the history, that, instead of injuring the play, they, on the contrary, were decisive for its success. It is even said to have gained the applause of Queen Elisabeth to such a degree that, wishing to see the fat knight the hero of a comedy and implicated in love affairs, she instigated Shakespeare to write the *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

But although Henry IV. is on the whole a work of rare merit, having been written, when the poet's genius had nearly reached its highest point, yet the two parts of it are not equal in value. Following in this opinion some authoritative critics, we, too, consider the second part much inferior to the first. This inferiority is not confined to the historical part, but is also visible in the comic scenes. The suppression of the dangerous rebellion of the Percies, Glendower and Mortimer forms the historical kernel of the first part, and this suppression was achieved by a fierce battle in which Hotspur was the leader. In the second part, the rebellion of Archbishop Scroop is the historical centre, a rebellion which had not the extent of the first, and which in the manner of its quelling was as inglorious as the first

was glorious. In the first part, we have the famous scene in which Falstaff robs and is robbed, a merry trick, "which", as the prince says, "will be argument for a week, laughter for a month and a good jest for ever". In the second part the interruption of Falstaff's flirtation with Doll Tearsheet is a very much coarser dish. Only to the crown-scene in the second part may a greater dramatic effectiveness perhaps be attributed than to any historical scene in the first part: but we do not think it great enough to change the general judgment we have given above.

The source of the two parts of Henry IV., as far as the historical skeleton is concerned, is the chronicle of Holinshed. Such, at least, is the opinion of Boswell-Stone who in his meritorious work "Shakespeare's Holinshed" has compared all the historical plays of our poet, not only with Holinshed, but also with Hall, Holinshed's predecessor, and other historians of the time. Boswell-Stone says that it is apparently the second edition of Holinshed, that of 1587, which was used as an historical authority for most of Shakespeare's historical dramas. The first edition of Holinshed appeared in 1577, and was "newly recognised, augmented and continued with occurrences and accidents of fresh memory by John Hooker and others".

But it is possible, and in some cases probable, that Shakespeare also consulted other chronicles of his time; for there are allusions to historic events in almost every historical drama, including Henry IV., which are not contained in Holinshed, and which therefore must have been taken from somewhere else. For instance, Boswell-Stone quotes three passages in Henry IV. which are not traceable to Holinshed, but to Hall, to Stow, and to Sir Thomas Elyot's Governor.

But, although a great number of passages in Holinshed are mere paraphrases of Hall, and others, compilations from other historians; and although the possibility is therefore not excluded of Shakespeare's having resorted to the original

sources themselves, as in some cases he indeed must have done; yet it is probable that the poet considered Holinshed as his principal source, on account of finding there together and compiled what he otherwise would have been forced to seek with far greater trouble.

Shakespeare may have proceeded as a modern author does who wants to write an historical play. The latter probably will take that historical work which treats most copiously the epoch he wishes to inform himself about, without rejecting minor works which are valuable on account of some detail or other.

The strongest proof that Holinshed is to be regarded as the chief source of some historical plays, of which Henry IV. is one, is the occurrence in the plays of words and expressions quoted almost verbally from the chronicle. We cite the chronicler's expression "pick-thanks" Vol. III/54, which we find in the play in 1. III/2, l. 24 "By smiling pick-thanks and base newsmongers".

As to the chronicle of Holinshed itself, it is, as we have already said, partly a compilation from other chronicles or historical works, partly a paraphrase of Hall's chronicle. We compared Hall's and Holinshed's accounts of the reign of Henry IV. and had indeed the same impression. The marginal notes, in the reprint of Holinshed used by us, the edition of 1808, are, so say the publishers, notes written by the author himself. According to these marginal notes, Holinshed's chronicle, as far as it treats of the reign of Henry IV., is based on Fabian's "The new chronicles of England and France", John Stow's "The annals of England", Hall's "The union of the two noble and illustre families of Lancaster and York", Thomas Walsingham's "Historia Anglicana", Jean Froissart's "Chroniques", John Harding's "Chronicle", Polydor Vergil's "Anglicae historiae libri XXVII" and on others. All in all, more than a hundred and forty authors are named by Holinshed, from whom he compiled

his history of England. Often, the chronicler names his source in the text itself, especially when there are two versions of an historical event.

The historical facts are reported by Holinshed year by year, in strict chronological order, so that we cannot always easily survey events which extend over a large space of time, or which find their issue in a later epoch. The accounts of the continual inroads of the Welshmen under Glendower, for instance, suffer much by this manner of detached writing; and one must read the chronicle word by word to find at length, amidst other passages treating of entirely different matters, that in which Owen "endeth his life in great misery". In the twelve lines where this historical event is found, in 1410, Vol. III/48, three other facts are also reported: firstly, that "about midsummer royal jousts were holden at London"; secondly, that "Thomas Beaufort was made chancellor, and Henry Scroop Lord Treasurer"; and, thirdly, that "a parliament began that year".

In this abrupt historiography, many of Shakespeare's errors may find their explanation, although he and his contemporaries were, without doubt, accustomed to it, as almost the only manner of writing history.

As to the style of the chronicle, we do not know enough of the prose of that epoch to give a detailed opinion. But we should say that it is pretty clear, and not very puzzling even to a person who is not used to reading anything but the English of to-day. On the whole, the language, even of the second edition (1587) which, as we have said above, modernised the original edition of 1577, seems to be more archaic than Shakespeare's prose. Perhaps the influence of the old sources to which the compiler had to resort is the reason for this. The chronicle of Holinshed has, if we are not mistaken, a somewhat more learned colour than Hall's original work, which is the more pithy. The latter loves to insert now and then in his

rhetorical almost sermonic prose a good English saying, whereas Holinshed, much more concise, but the more abundant in facts, neglects no opportunity of quoting Latin poets, or other Latin passages referring to the history itself. For instance, the reign of Henry IV. contains twelve Latin quotations from Lucan, Horace and others.

The second source, if we may dignify it by that term, especially for the comic part of Henry IV., is the old play "The famous victories of Henry V.". It was probably written before 1588 by an unknown author, and, rough and coarse as it is, yet it kept its position beside the infinitely higher work of Shakespeare. So we see that, at the time when Shakespeare was writing Henry IV., this play (owing perhaps to passages which have not been handed down to posterity, otherwise the fact would be surprising) had already enjoyed a long period of popularity. This circumstance may have induced the poet to make use of it to the extent of taking from it the contrast between the historical and the comic parts, and the exhibition not only of Harry's relation to his father, but also of his intercourse with his dissolute boon companions, to which Holinshed only gives short allusions. But to see how little, except some scenes betraying an obvious influence, the poet could have taken from this play, it suffices to peruse a small part of it.

The first events alluded to in Henry IV. do not immediately join on to the last ones represented in Richard II., but are separated from them by a space of more than two years. The last events of the latter play, the successful repression of the first rebellion after the usurper's accession to the throne and the death of King Richard II., took place at the beginning of 1400. On January 7, 1400, the rebels were overpowered at Cicester, and shortly afterwards executed. The 14th of February is the generally accepted date of Richard's death, although an earlier date, the 29th of January, may be discovered in another source, in Rymer's "Foedera".

But even if we accept this latter date, a post-dating of the historical events at Cicester, alluded to in the beginning of the very last scene, seems to be obvious. For all matters connected with the rebellion were probably settled, and even the execution of the conspirators already carried out, not only when the body of the dead King arrived in London, but even when Richard was stabbed. And the corpse certainly arrived in London a long time after the King had been murdered in Pomfret, or, as it is now called, Pontefract Castle, the distance being 260 kilometers, the season winter, and the roads very bad, if we follow Macaulay's interesting sketch of the difficulty of travelling, which still existed as late as 1685. Moreover, according to Holinshed, Vol. III/14 "The body was embalmed, and those that had the conveyance of it stayed in all the towns and places on the way, caused dirge to be sung in the evening, and mass of requiem in the morning, and exposed the body to show it to all that courted (= endeavoured) to behold it".

But Shakespeare wished to close his Richard II. as impressively as possible, and so he makes two events fall at the same time, one of which laid rebellion in the dust at Henry's feet, whilst the other made him sole and undisputed King of England, rid now of his predecessor who, as long as he lived, was a continual danger to the usurper.

Thus the drama of Richard II. does not end with the abdication of that monarch, but with his death, which alone could give some prospect of security to Henry's new honour.

Henry IV.

First part.

Act I.

Scene I.

Henry, after having meditated on the sad times England had undergone and termed the present peace precarious, discusses his plan of undertaking a crusade to Jerusalem. The news of Glendower's victory and Douglas' defeat reach the court, and the King on hearing of Hotspur's retaining the prisoners lays aside his former scheme, and sends for the Percies to justify themselves.

Shakespeare, in letting King Henry introduce himself with complaints of civil wars, which had wasted the country, alludes to, and sums up the events between the accession to the throne of this monarch and the time at which the play opens.

In Richard II. the unsuccessful insurrection, in which the Duke of Aumerle took part, was the last of these broils represented. The subsequent difficulties which arose in France, Henry's war with Scotland and several plots against his life are entirely omitted by Shakespeare, and the poet thinks it sufficient to generalize all this by designations such as "civil butchery, intestine shock" etc.

To Henry's plan of reconquering the Holy Land, a plan he declares, alluding to the vow he had made at his predecessor's funeral, in Richard II., to be "a twelvemonth" old, the more exact time would be two years and a half — there is in Holinshed no direct allusion whatever, either when he reports the unfortunate King's death, or when he treats of the epoch we have entered on at the beginning of our drama. The chronicler does not even say anything about the impression which the news of Richard's death made on Henry, and which Shakespeare indicates to us in the last scene of his Richard II. But it is not unlikely that the usurper had conceived this plan at the time of

his predecessor's violent death, which was instigated by him, because it seems to have been the general custom of the time to wash out a great sin by a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre.

One could quote against the probability of his entertaining that plan a note of the Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Venice, quoted by Boswell-Stone, page 140, according to which Lord Henry of Lancaster seems to have visited the Holy Land as early as 1392, since "the hull of a galley with all necessary tackle was granted to him for to visit the Holy Places". Therefore one might say that this meritorious action would perhaps be sufficient, according to the creed of that epoch, to procure him absolution for a future political crime, and make needless a second pilgrimage at such a precarious time as was the beginning of Henry's reign.

But, although there is no direct allusion in Holinshed to this scheme which Henry has not forgotten, but which has now taken quite another colour, and — Shakespeare here is not quite consistent — springs now from another motive, in fact the pilgrimage has become a crusade, yet we should like to quote in reference to it two passages in the chronicle, Vol. II/768, III/17. In 1386 the King of Armenia whose country was in danger of being conquered by the Turks, came "into the west parts of Christendom for aid and succour against his enemies", and in 1400, on the 21st of December, the Emperor of Constantinople came "into England to sue for aid against the Turks." "The King", in the latter instance, "bore all his charges and presented him with gifts at his departure." A promise of assistance, however, is not reported by Holinshed. Perhaps these passages were not without influence on this scene.

Of course, the Christian realms of western Europe had at that time a greater and a severer task than to conquer the Holy Land: The Turks rising towards the summit of their power had, as early as 1365, Adrianople in their pos-

session; and the King of the Eastern Roman Empire probably did not urge an expedition to Palestine, but sued for aid against those Turks who were then in the very heart of his former empire, and who were soon, in 1453, to conquer the City of Constantine, and to plant the crescent on Hagia Sophia.

The first two historical events alluded to in the play, are the overthrow of Mortimer by Glendower on the borders of Wales, and the battle of Homeldon or Humbleton, as the place is called now, in Northumberland, where Hotspur gained a decisive victory over Archibald, Earl of Douglas. The first event took place on the 22nd of June 1402, and the second on the 14th of September. They are, however, dramatized by the poet as simultaneous, in order that the news of the two battles might reach London at about the same time.

But on the very day of Mortimer's defeat, the 22nd of June, another battle was fought between the English of the borders and the Scotch. It was the battle of Nisbet, now Nesbit, in Roxburghshire, in Teviot-Dale, where the Scotch under Patrick Hepborne were also vanquished, and suffered a loss which induced them to venture a second inroad that same year to avenge themselves for the failure of the first. If Shakespeare contrived to learn the date of Mortimer's defeat, which Holinshed does not give, he thought it perhaps the more compatible with historical fidelity to roll these two Scotch battles into one, because, although differing in date, they had the same issue for both parties.

Shakespeare's description of the battle in Herefordshire, at Kington, is derived from the chronicle; the number of the slain, a thousand, and even expressions agree, or are similar; and the poet follows especially his source in not stating wherein the shameful cruelty of the Welshwomen consisted. Later on, Vol. III/34, Hol. gives the details of this shameful villany, thinking the crime of Tomyris, and

that of Fulvia, Marcus Antonius' wife, inferior to the "shameless transformation done by these female devils".

The description of the battle of Homeldon, — a hill, according to the chronicler's History of Scotland — also closely depends on Holinshed. George, Earl of March, a Scotchman fighting on the side of the English, who will be spoken of later on, has been omitted by Shakespeare. There is a slight slip of Shakespeare to be remembered. Speaking of the Scotch prisoners, the dramatist writes thus I/1 ll 70/72

"Of prisoners, Hotspur took
Mordake the Earl of Fife, and eldest son
To beaten Douglas;"

Mordake, however, was not the son of Douglas, but of the governor Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife (cf. Hol. hist. of Scotl. p. 405). A commentator on the play points out the omission of a comma in Holinshed, which might have misled Shakespeare. The passage runs thus, Vol. III/21 "Of prisoners among other were these: Mordake Earl of Fife, son to the governor — Archembald Earl Douglas . . ." Later, on page 23, Hol. is clearer when he speaks of "Mordake, Earl of Five, the Duke of Albany's son", a passage the significance of which probably escaped the poet.

In naming Mordake, Earl of Fife, and, separate from him, the Earl of Menteith, Shak. repeated Hol.'s mistake, who names the Earls of Athol and of Menteith, after having spoken of Mordake, Earl of Fife, who was also Earl of Menteith (cf. play I/1 ll 70—74; Hol. III/21).

When the poet speaks in this play of artillery, as he does in this scene, of gunpowder, and of all that is connected with it, we must consider such allusions to be anachronisms. At that epoch, gunpowder was already used for siege-guns (cf. Hol. III/39 "Henry IV., besieging Berwick castle, caused a piece of artillery to be planted against one of the towers"), but it was not yet employed either for field-artillery or for muskets, which alone would have been ad-

vantageous in border skirmishes. But Shak. could have read, if not in Hol.'s History of England, yet in the same chronicler's History of Scotland, Vol. V p. 405, that Henry Hotspur "assailed the Scotch with an incessant shot of arrows".

That Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, immediately after Hotspur's victory should, as stated by the poet, have given his kinsmen the counsel not to deliver the Scotch prisoners to the English king, appears to us unlikely. According to Hol., and even to the dramatist himself, the earl was in London at the time of the battle of Homildon, and did not leave the capital until a short time before the battle of Shrewsbury (cf. play II/4 ll 344—45, "Worcester is stolen away to night" & Hol. III/23). Therefore, the earl could neither get intelligence of the battle sooner than the King, nor confer with his relatives before they had come to Windsor. But the words I/1 l. 96:

"This is his uncle's teaching: this is Worcester"
presuppose either the earl's presence in the skirmish, or at least his being not far from Newcastle, in the neighbourhood of which the battle took place.

In reality, the whole affair is likely to have happened at a far slower pace than represented by Shak., and Hol. gives indeed certain indications which confirm this opinion, indications the poet entirely neglected. Vol. III, page 21, the chronicler says, after having spoken of the siege of the castle of Cocklawes, which Hotspur undertook after the battle of Homildon, "The first two months passed, and no likelihood of rescue (on the part of the Scots) appeared, but, ere the third month expired, the Englishmen, sent for to go with the King into Wales, raised their siege and departed, leaving the noblemen prisoners with the Earl of Northumberland, and with his son the lord Percy to keep them to the King's use". Consequently, three months after the battle, there was no question at all of the non-surrender of the prisoners: the Percies having them in sure

keeping for the King's use. In the course of the ensuing winter, Worcester, who according to Hol. (Vol. III/22) did in fact give his relations the advice to retain the prisoners, may have sent a secret message to Northumberland, the result of which was that the Percies, declaring "the Scotchmen their peculiar preys", did not surrender them, with one exception, Mordake the Earl of Fife. Then only, the King may have sent the first message to require what he considered to be his right, and after having repeated his request "diverse and sundry times", but without success, he at length may have tried to intimidate the Percies "with great threatenings". Perhaps the words "This is his uncle's teaching", may be taken as a general remark, equivalent to "This is Worcester's bad influence of former days", but we think they were intended to indicate the direct instigation of the earl, as we read in Holinshed. All these deviations are not grave and scarcely perceptible. But there is another to be remembered, not from Hol., but from the logical course of the action in the play itself, a deviation which must be discovered, we think, on a close perusal of the scene. The King's plan to go to Jerusalem presupposes an entirely appeased political situation in his realm. Therefore, if the beginning of his speech is to be taken as sincere, the King must not know either of Mortimer's defeat, or Percy's victory. The victory itself was an additional ground, it is true, for undertaking a crusade, but the news of Hotspur's denying the prisoners was contained in the same message, and this fact was sufficient to annihilate the whole plan. The King does not know of Glendower's victory, that is certain, and does not "seem" to have had any knowledge of the battle of Homildon, when Westmoreland ceases speaking with the words: "Uncertain of the issue any way". I/1 l. 61. But then Henry begins anew: ll. 62, 63, 66.

"Here is a deer, a true industrious friend,
Sir Walter Blunt, new lighted from his horse,..
And he hath brought us smooth and welcome news".

To him the King must have then spoken already; for he tells all the details about the battle, names the captives, calls them an honorable prize, praises Hotspur, "sweet Fortune's minion", and complains of his son. Then, on a sudden, he calls Hotspur proud on account of his not delivering all the prisoners, — we find this transition from praise to blame very abrupt — and finishes his speech by saying that he has already "sent for him to answer this"; adding further the words:

"And for this cause awhile we must neglect
Our holy purpose to Jerusalem" ll. 101/2.

"For more is to be said and to be done

Than out of anger can be uttered". ll. 106/7.

Consequently, the reason why the "holy purpose" could not be performed was already existent to the King's knowledge, before he uttered his very first words, and these therefore cease to appear any longer sincere. This discrepancy in the action, we cannot but feel, could perhaps have been avoided by Shak.'s making Sir Walter Blunt tell and complete what Westmoreland had begun relating.

These irregularities however are far from injuring the beauty of the Shakespearian plays. They may be compared with the unevenness, as it were, of the first notes of a great pianist whose fingers have not at first their wonted agility and sureness of touch. But, if this want of smoothness in the play of a virtuoso may be caught by delicate ears, these discrepancies in Shak. cannot be discovered on the stage. They only can be found by reading the play word by word, and by examining it with a magnifying glass, and if we consider that in those days the dramas were not written to be read, but to be acted, heard and seen, we cannot but wonder that there are not more of these slips.

The other persons in this scene, the Earl of Westmoreland and Sir Walter Blunt are historical, and will be spoken of later on.

The composition of the scene is due to the poet's imagination.

Scene II.

Shakespeare following his own inspiration, except for a few hints he owes to the "Famous Victories of Henry V.", shows us Prince Harry conversing with his friends. Fat Falstaff fills the foreground of the stage for the first time. They are joking, and when the others are gone, Poins proposes to the Prince the famous trick of robbing their booty-laden fellow-robbers near Gadshill. The Prince who just before had refused to participate in a robbery, is now, by the originality of the jest, persuaded to lend a hand in it. The scene ends with a pathetic monologue of the Prince, in which he states the motives of his intercourse with his loose friends, and of his behaviour.

We cannot help confessing that we deem this monologue unnatural, the speaker's explanations strange, and the motives he states even hateful. The Prince knowing, as it were, by the gift of prophecy that he is destined to be a famous and good king, does not lead a merry life, because he is young and healthy, because he has means enough, because he is not only witty himself, but also wishes to fight with the arms of wit against others who even surpass him therein; nothing of the kind! He is by nature a virtuous youth, but at the same time a very diplomatic fellow, who wishes to begin his reign with a great marvellous deed, and this deed is to consist, as he says, in throwing off his rough apparel of loose manners, and standing suddenly before the amazed people bright as the sun, who suffered awhile

"the base contagious clouds

To smother up his beauty from the world, . . ."

Until this transformation we are only to see his mask, and when he is merry in the company of his stout friend, we may think his heart to bleed. We are to suppose him to

be a hypocrite all the time, but not a hypocrite in the usual acceptation of the term, but a hypocrite of badness, not a wolf in sheep's clothing, but a lamb in a wolf's skin.

How easy would it have been for the poet to give Harry's behaviour a natural explanation and to prepare us otherwise for his future improvement. Could he not have made him say that his escapades were but "tricks of youth", as Ned terms them in the *Fam. Vict.*, or that he wished to enjoy his youth and that, if God should ever give him the crown, He also would give him the power to bear it? In putting the above expression in the mouth of one of his characters, the author of the *Fam. Vict.* is indeed, in this point, more true to nature than Shakespeare. How easy would it have been for the poet to make us sympathize much more with his favourite prince! For, what we like is to see a strong, manly, light-hearted and witty youth, whose faults we gladly condone, nay we love him the more for them. But we do not wish to see a "Tugendbold", a too virtuous young man, as Shak. sometimes seems to represent his prince. And especially we have no love for a young man whose faults are explained by motives which render them even worse. A high-spirited and at the same time somewhat dissolute youth may be blamed by a severe judge; but such a one offering as excuse for his faults, not nature, but the purpose "to make offence a skill", to play with sin like a clown who enters the circus to make people at first shake their heads and laugh at his stupidity, in order to amaze them at last by his dexterity, such a young man not only merits our censure on account of his life, but also to be stigmatised as a base and ridiculous liar. We cannot but give the monologue this interpretation, if we draw the final conclusions from it. Therefore, if we wish to enjoy the play, we must by all means try to forget these words of the Prince's. But Shak. comes to our aid by forgetting them himself, and whenever we see Harry in Falstaff's company, he delights in it heartily, and we have

nowhere the impression of seeing before us a player within the play, but an ingenuous youth who is anything but a hypocrite.

As to Poins' trick of robbing his fellow-robbers, we may cite the passage in the *Fam. Vict.* "Zounds, the villain that was wont to spy out our booties", which possibly may have suggested this idea to Shakespeare.

Scene III.

The Percies, whom the King had sent for, appear to justify themselves, and a conference takes place in the palace. Hotspur denies having given a definite negative answer concerning the surrender of the prisoners. He tells the funny story of the perfumed envoy whose "popinjay prattle" had so angered him that he had given him a careless answer, the tenor of which he could no longer remember. But the condition which the Percies annex to the delivery of the Scotchmen, the ransom of their kinsman Mortimer, does not meet with the approbation of the King, who far from promising his aid, makes the most serious accusations against the Earl of March. An altercation arises, and Henry leaves the Percies with the strict order to surrender the captives. The Percies, no less angry than the King, lay now a plot, the aim of which is the deposition of Bolingbroke, and the placing of Mortimer on the throne.

Comparing this scene with the respective passages in *Hol.*, we find that the poet only took the general facts from his source. For instance, the meeting of the parties is historical. It did not, however, according to the chronicle, take place in London, but at Windsor, where the Percies had come "upon a purpose to prove the King", (*Hol.* III/22) and, as appears from the above excerpt, they did not come by Henry's command, but by their own free will in order to require the ransom of Mortimer and to sound the monarch. This redemption of Mortimer, which is represented by *Shak.* as the condition of the Percies'

surrendering the Scotch prisoners, seems not to have this signification in the chronicle. It may be read between the lines, but it is not expressly said there.

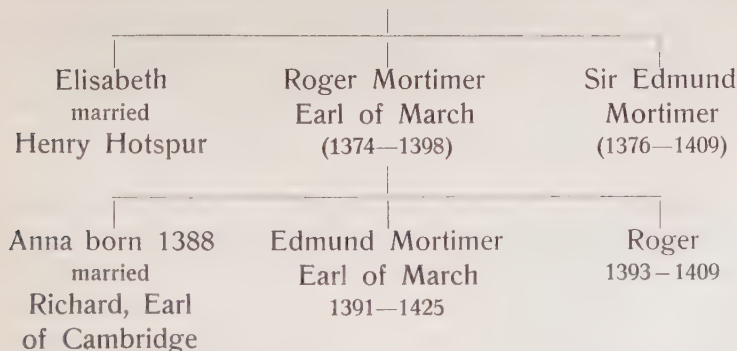
Hotspur's tale of the dandy envoy is, of course, a humorous invention of the dramatist, and contains moreover a striking anachronism, because "pouncet-boxes" had at that time not yet found a place upon toilet-tables of English gentlemen.

In this scene again, another gross improbability may be observed, if we examine the question of time and space in Shakespeare. How is it possible that an ambassador should be on the battle-field, when the fight was scarcely over, or that the King should already know the mind of the Percies when their wounds were still bleeding?

As to the identity of Mortimer, some errors must be pointed out which we cannot wonder at in Shak., as the chronicler himself is not free from them. A pedigree, which we owe to Brandl's edition of Shakespeare, will best illustrate the relation between the various members of that family.

Pedigree

Edward Mortimer, Earl of March (1351—1381) married Philippa, daughter to Lionel, 2nd son to Edward III.



According to history, it was not Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, a boy in 1403 only twelve years old, but

Sir Edmund Mortimer, his uncle, the brother of the late earl and Hotspur's brother-in-law, who fought against Glendower, was taken prisoner and married the Welshman's daughter. But, in Hol. as well as in Shak. Sir Edmund plays the part of an Earl of March, with this difference that the chronicler confounds him with the young living earl, whereas the dramatist now makes him take the place of the defunct earl who died in Ireland 1398, now follows his source. Hol. e. g. says of him, Vol. III/22 "Whose aunt the Lord Henry Percy had married", and in the play, III/1 l. 196, Mortimer speaks of his "aunt Percy", whereas in this scene, l. 156, Hotspur calls him "brother".

The details of the battle, where Mortimer was vanquished, are not historical; neither the single combat between the two chiefs, nor even the name of the river Severn, mentioned by Hotspur. The battle is said to have taken place near Kington, a town which does not lie on the Severn, but on a little brook called the Arrow. But this single combat, reported perhaps by Hotspur in order to pay the King back with another rumour about the battle, need not be considered as an historical inaccuracy, because the dramatist sometimes must invent to give a character the opportunity of rectifying a distortion of historical fact in a speech of another.

As to the rumour mentioned by the King, we find the same allusion in Hol. too, who says Vol. III/20 "But coming to try the matter by battle, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortun'd, that the English power was discomfited." We admit that the fact of Mortimer's marrying the daughter of Glendower, who did not prevent his people from committing such cruelties, appears to us somewhat suspicious. But the earl may have done so to escape from a captivity which is said to have been "a severe and filthy one" (Hol. III/22), a reason which the chronicler also admits. (Vol. III/21).

An instance may here be given of Hol.'s detached writing: Vol. III/21, he says "Edmund Mortimer, Earl of

March, whether for irksomeness of cruel captivity, or fear of death, agreed to take part with Owen against the King of England and took to wife the daughter of the said Owen". On the next page (22) however, he says of the Percies, after they had left the court, "They did not only deliver out of captivity their cousin, but entered in league with the foresaid Glendower". These accounts, even contradicting each other, render difficult, not only the comparison between the dramatist and the chronicler, but also a sure interpretation of each passage in the play. From Worcester's remark in this scene l. 295 "I'll steal to Glendower and Lord Mortimer", we may perhaps conclude that the Percies knew about the deliverance and marriage of Mortimer, and that, if in the presence of the King they urged nevertheless the ransom of their kinsman, — which would presuppose his still being in captivity —, their demand is to be taken as an artifice to "prove" the King, as Hol. says, and to bring on the desired rupture with Henry. But, on the other hand, Hotspur says l. 219 "He would not ransom Mortimer", which would prove that the Percies believed their relative to be still in fetters.

It is also to be observed that in the leave-taking of the parties, Shak. does not closely follow Hol.. In the play the king dismisses the Percies with the words:

"We license your departure with your son,

Send us your prisoners, or you will hear of it".

In the chronicle, it is the Percies who seem to have had the last word, for III/22 we read: "They (the Percies) were not little fumed with this answer and fraudulent excuse inso-much that Henry Hotspur said openly 'Behold the heir of the realm is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his own will not redeem him'. So in this fury they departed". The parties sever in Shak. with a possible reconciliation; in Hol. it seems excluded by the provocative words of Hotspur.

As to the comments of the Percies on the King's behaviour to Mortimer, the poet followed the chronicler, who

states the same motives, Vol. III/22 namely "the King was not hasty to purchase the deliverance of the Earl of Mortimer, because his title to the crown was well enough known".

In making Northumberland say that Edmund Mortimer was proclaimed heir apparent by Richard II., when he went to Ireland in 1399, Shak. followed an error of Hol. who Vol. III/22 forgot what he had said about this matter in Vol. II/768. In the latter place, he reports that in 1386 "by authority of a parliament which was holden at Westminster, Roger Mortimer was established heir apparent to the crown of the realm".

The plan which the Percies form for the conspiracy is traceable to Hol. who writes III/23 that "the Percies sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners for aid of men, promising to the earl of Douglas the town of Berwick and a part of Northumberland, and to the other Scottish lords great lordships and seignories, if they obtained the upper hand." In the Play, these latter promises are omitted, and the liberation without ransom is considered to be ground enough for craving the assistance of the Scotchmen against the English King. Besides the excerpt above, we could not find in the chronicle any other passage illustrating this matter. The liberation is, then, not distinctly reported by Holinshed.

Hotspur's tale of his first meeting with Bolingbroke, near the place where the "madcap duke his uncle "kept" (dwelt) l. 244, refers to Richard II., Act II., Scene IV., and is only partly historical; for their first meeting certainly took place much earlier than 1399, as will appear later on.

Why Shak. calls the Duke of York [uncle to Henry IV. and Richard II., and appointed by the latter "Lieutenant General" during his absence in Ireland] a "madcap" we do not know; unless his weak and irresolute behaviour after the landing of Lancaster and, afterwards, his blind attachment to Henry, which did not stop short at accusing his own son, deserve this title.

As to the Archbishop of York, who is here first named and brought into connection with Lord Scroop beheaded at Bristol by order of Bolingbroke, we shall see later, in Act IV/4, that these men have nothing to do with each other, despite Hol.'s statement, the source of Shak.'s error.

In this scene Hotspur makes his appearance for the first time, "a son who is the theme of Honour's tongue", as the envious King designates him I/1 l. 81. And indeed honour, and nothing but honour, seems here to be the motive of all his actions. Whether she hang on the "pale-faced moon", or be drowned in the fathomless sea, it were an easy leap and plunge for him to fetch her thence, if he might "wear without corrival all her dignities". ll. 201—7.

Act II.

Scene I.

This scene is, on the whole, of Shak.'s invention, and brings us to Rochester, where, in an inn-yard, we see Gadshill, one of the Prince's companions, reconnoitring in order to prepare for the robbery. He gets information from the chamberlain about the carriers, and we must suppose him afterwards to betake himself to his comrades with his news.

The name of Gadshill has perhaps been taken from the *Fam. Vict.*, where Derick, calling the thief by the name of the scene of his robbery, says "now Gadshill knowest thou me?"

Scene II.

In this scene, the ingenious trick is executed. After having robbed the travellers between Rochester and London, the robbers with their corpulent captain are robbed themselves of their booty by the disguised Prince and Poins.

This scene corresponds to the first scene of the "*Fam. Vict.*", where also a robbery of the Prince's is spoken of. The presentation however is there so clumsy that Shak. could have taken nothing but the idea from it.

Scene III.

We are now in Northumberland, near the coast, in the castle of Warkworth, which may perhaps be regarded as the usual seat of the Percies. The action may be put at a time about a month before the battle of Shrewsbury, and nearly a year has elapsed since the fight of Homildon. Hotspur is reading letters from persons of high rank, who, notwithstanding their promises of aid, revoke them now, alleging all sorts of reasons. Percy, whose anger increases more and more, is called to account by his wife for the strange behaviour he has shown of late. But, far from getting the desired answer, Kate — the real name of Hotspur's wife was Elisabeth, cf. pedigree p. 23 — earns the derision of her husband.

The historical kernel of this scene is the fact that "diverse noblemen and other states of the realm after having read the articles, promised to the Percies aid and succour . . ., but, when the matter came to trial, the most part of the confederates abandoned them" Hol. III/23. That they should have sent letters to excuse themselves, is very unlikely, and Shak.'s invention, Hol. only saying that "they by writings and seals" confirmed their promise. (Hol. III/23.)

Edwards, a comentator on the play, supposes George Dunbar, Earl of March, to be the writer whose letter of excuse thus enrages Hotspur. We find him indeed on the king's side later on, whereas he fights with the Percies at Homildon (cf. d. I/1). But he had reason to join the king, who had kindly received him upon his flight from Scotland and even undertaken a war on his behalf, which will be treated in detail later on.

This scene reminds us in many respects of Julius Caesar, Act II/1, where Brutus and his wife Portia correspond to Hotspur and Kate. But what a difference between that noble Roman couple and this English one: Brutus fighting for the liberty of the commonwealth, Hotspur chiefly for his personal honour; Portia proving her constancy by giving

herself a wound and gaining by this deed her husband's trust, Kate, a weak and irresolute woman, who has later on words enough to complain of her Henry's death and to accuse others, but is now a feeble creature in her lord's hands; Brutus retaining in his dangerous enterprises all the tender feelings of the human heart, Hotspur sacrificing them to the war-god and to an exaggerated love of personal honour.

Scene IV.

In Eastcheap, in the Boar's-Head Tavern, the Prince and Poins enjoy their prank. After a joke has been played on a waiter, the unfortunate thieves make their appearance. Falstaff tries to colour their, and especially his own, cowardice by lies "as gross, open and palpable, as the father that begot them" ll. 216/17. The Prince has no sooner unmasked the sham heroes, than a messenger arrives from the court, bringing the news of the rebellion and, to the Prince, the order to repair to the King on the following morning. Far from permitting themselves to be disturbed in their merrymaking, the pot-companions even now allow their jests to culminate in a mock trial, where Falstaff and the Prince represent the King and his eldest son, afterwards changing their parts in a second one. Finally, a sheriff and one of the carriers who had been robbed enter to seek after "the well-known thief", who in the mean time has been hidden behind the hangings. The Prince pacifies the men by promising them his aid; and, after their departure, he shows his intention of "paying back again the money with advantage" ll. 523/24. Only the one passage, ll. 344/45, "Worcester is stolen away to night" can be traced to Hol.'s saying III/23 that "Thomas Percy the governor of the prince in secret manner conveyed himself out of the prince's house, and met his nephew at Stafford, where they increased their power".

As to the messenger, Sir John Bracy, we could nowhere discover him, nor did we find those tales in the

chronicle, which Falstaff tells about the feats of Glendower and of Douglas. Perhaps the Welshman's cudgelling the devil, and making him cuckold, is based on his fame as a great magician. (cf. Hol. III/20: "He caused foul weather, as was thought, through art magic.")

Shak. has apparently taken some ideas from the *Fam. Vict.*, where, in the first scene, the Prince proposes to his companions to go to the old tavern in Eastcheap, "where is good wine, and a pretty wench that can talk well". The sham examination, too, seems to have been modelled on a mock court of justice in the *Fam. Vict.*, in which two clowns parody a previous scene representing the Prince and his companions before the Lord Chief-Justice. Lastly, the carrier appearing at the end of the scene, in company with a sheriff, to seek the thief who has robbed him, reminds us of the two receivers in the older play. But whereas in the latter they are intimidated by the prince's bold words, the carrier is here kindly dismissed. The conformity of expressions is also interesting in this case. The *Famous Victories* having:

"For the Town of Detford is risen
With hue and cry after your man".

Shakespeare: ll. 484/85

"A hue and cry

Hath followed certain men unto this house".

The last words of the Prince in this scene, ll. 523/24 "The money shall be paid back again with advantage", are traceable to Stow (Boswell-Stone p. 141), who besides the *Fam. Vict.* may have been the source of some details of this amusing practical joke.

There is still a word to be said about the date of these four comic scenes I/2, II/1, 2, 4. According to the historical allusion in this scene, they are all four to be taken as occurring in the summer of 1403, at a time shortly before the battle of Shrewsbury; for an interval of time between them cannot be allowed. The Prince, namely, says I/2 l. 96: "Where shall we take a purse to-morrow?" The purse is

taken in II/2 and its contents converted into sack in II/4. Having stated this, we see that I/2 has been predated, and that I/3, treating of events Shak. represents as immediately following the fight of Homildon, anterior to the battle of Shrewsbury by ten months, ought to take its place. But the practice of Shak. seems to have been to interweave the historical and the comic scenes as symmetrically as possible, neglecting absolute chronological order, and to consider the former as a warp of a darker thread and the latter as a woof of a brighter colour.

Act III.

Scene I.

The scene represents a room in the archdeacon's house at Bangor, an ancient cathedral city in Wales. There Mortimer, Hotspur and Glendower, after the latter has commented upon the prodigies connected with his birth, and earned the ridicule of Henry Percy, discuss the tripartition of England, not without incidental altercations, because Hotspur is not content with his share. At length the Welshman gives way to young Percy. Before betaking themselves to their respective counties, they take leave of their ladies according to their various characters.

To compose this scene, Shak. took little from Hol., and nearly everything from his imagination.

If we follow the chronicle, the three chief rebels did themselves not meet to make the tripartition, but had it made by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor. Nor does Hol. expressly say, as Shak. makes us believe, that the archdeacon of Bangor made the tripartition. He only mentions that "they (the conspirators) by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor divided the realm amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seals". But it is likely that the archdeacon, probably the most learned person present,

drew up the indenture and was not merely the person who provided a room for the deliberations.

As to the historical allusions which the speeches of the different persons contain, an account of Hol. III/21, referring to Mortimer: "Strange wonders happened at the nativity of *this man*, for, the same night he was born, all his father's horses in the stable were found to stand in blood up to the bellies", may have induced Shak. to attribute it to Glendower, whom it evidently fitted better. But the preceding paragraph ending with the words "the said Owen", "this man" can grammatically be understood, — and the poet may have understood it so — to mean the Welshman. Only by comparing other authorities, do we find that it in fact refers to Mortimer, whose birth, according to Eves, was thus signaled.

The Welsh chieftain brags of having sent Henry "weather-beaten" home three times, and of having made "bootless" the King's expeditions against him. It seems that one of these expeditions, the third, has been antedated; for in 1405, "the king lost fifty carriages through abundance of rain" (Hol. III/39). In the first campaign, which took place as early as 1400, Glendower escaped the King's revenge "which he (Henry) meant towards him", by withdrawing "into the mountains of Snowdon" (Hol. III/17). But nothing is said here of the weather being bad; which, however, is likely to have been the case, rain prevailing nearly always in the neighbourhood of England's highest mountain, which exceeds a thousand metres in height. The second expedition, in 1402, was again fruitless, and, as in the third, foul weather, rain and snow, which Glendower was said to have caused by his sorcery, forced Henry to return (Hol. III/20).

We wonder greatly that this expedition, which took place in August 1402, two months after the fight in which Mortimer lost his men and his liberty, is nowhere in the whole play clearly alluded to. For although the King had no success in this campaign, it was at least an attempt

“to chastise the presumptuous Welshmen”, and the reproach of having undertaken nothing at all for the deliverance of Mortimer is unjust both in Hol., and in the play. For, had the king then utterly vanquished Glendower, and taken the castle where Mortimer was in captivity, he would have set his kinsman at liberty without the ransom, which afterwards, indeed, he craftily refused to pay.

The prophecies Glendower trusts in, as Hotspur says of him in his absence, are borrowed from the chronicler, who writes III/22: “this (tripartition) was done through a foolish credit given to a vain prophecy, as though King Henry was the mold-warp and they three were the dragon, the lion and the wolf, which should divide this realm between them”. Shak. does not attribute certain animals to certain persons, as does Hol., at least in the case of the mold-warp; but Hotspur names, as it seems at random, a number of beasts, with which a superstition may have been connected. The number of the four animals in the chronicle has increased to eight in the play. The wolf is not mentioned in the drama and has given place there to the ant, the finless fish, the clip-wing’d griffin, the moulted raven, and to the ramping cat. On the other hand Hol. does not attribute the trust “in these ‘deviations’ and not ‘devinations’ of that mawmet Merlin” to Glendower alone, but to all three; or rather, the chronicler designates no particular person, but speaks quite generally.

The altercations, especially between Hotspur and Glendower, seem to have no other purpose than to point out the difficulty of succeeding in an enterprise in which there were several generals, and no such dictator as commanded the opposite party in the person of the King. In Hol., there is not the least allusion to the deputies’ having been discontended with their respective shares.

Glendower’s boast that he not only spoke English well in spite of its not being his mother-tongue, but that he also had “framed to the harp many an English ditty lovely

well", in his youth, may perhaps be based on Hol.'s account III/17 that "he was first set to study the laws of the realm, and became an utter barrister or an apprentice of the law" He received, then, a learned education. The gift of poetry and music he may possibly owe to the poet's invention; unless, in the description of the reign of Richard II., to whom the Welshman seems to have been well-affected, this talent for ditties be mentioned by Holinshed. But musical endowment being innate in the Celtic race, this passage of the play has the advantage of probability.

The presence of the ladies in this scene, dramatic as it may be, we consider to be unlikely, because Bangor was a place where none of the lords dwelt, and because such important political negotiations were transacted there.

We know not whether Glendower's making the celestial musicians play, an incident which gives this scene a somewhat fabulous colour, fits an historical play. But Shak. probably wished to give the Welshman, for once, the opportunity of displaying the magic powers so often alluded to.

Where the Archdeacon of Bangor was during these transactions, we ask in vain; but we should have liked to have seen him play at least a modest part, because he was the master of the house and, according to Shak., even the author of the indenture.

Scene II.

The mock examination in the Boar's Head Tavern has now become reality. The King and the Prince are face to face, and Henry earnestly reproaches his son for his loose behaviour. The Prince promises to improve, and succeeds in giving such emphasis to his words that father and son not only part reconciled, but the Prince is even given "charge and sovereign trust" in the impending war.

This scene seems to be based upon an event which happened towards the end of Henry IV.'s reign, in 1412,

and which Hol. relates with many details. It is consequently predated. But we may as well say that it is founded on a similar scene, very roughly put together, in the *Fam. Vict.*, which itself seems to depend closely on *Holinshed*.

According to the chronicle, III/53—54, the Prince had heard that certain “pick-thanks” had “sown division” between himself and his father, not so much by giving information of his dissipated habits, as by exciting the King’s suspicion that he might possibly presume to usurp the crown. So, to clear himself of these accusations, he resorted to the court with a great number of noblemen “that wished him well”. “He was apparelled in a gown of blew satin, full of small eyelet-holes, at every hole the needle hanging by the thread.” After having got access to his father, he proved by his humble conduct and convincing speech the nullity of these slanders; and “was dismissed with great love, and signs of fatherly affection”.

Confronting here the chronicler with the dramatist, we see that, in Hol., the Prince comes of his own free will (in the *Fam. Vict.* also); whereas, in the play, he is sent for (cf. II/4): in the chronicle, he arrives accompanied by his friends (in the *Fam. Vict.* also); in the drama, he is alone, and nothing is said about a fantastical dress, which the *Fam. Vict.* has faithfully retained. Moreover, in the play the King does not make such accusations against the Prince as seem to be the chief cause of discord in *Holinshed*: Harry is only upbraided in this scene for his “lewd and mean attempts, his barren pleasures, and for his rude society”, whereas his aspiration to the crown is not clearly alluded to. The King’s remark that he had deprived him of his place in the council to give it to his brother, the Duke of Clarence, refers to the offence the prince was guilty of in striking the Lord Chief-Justice, the consequence of which was his confinement, already spoken of, and the loss of his place in the council (cf. Hol. III/61). In the play, the King does not state the cause of this punishment.

When the King, speaking of Hotspur, says to his son, l. 103: "Being no more in debt to years than thou", his words could not well be more at variance with fact. There is no doubt but Shak. knew Hotspur to be much older than Harry; for, if the dramatist found no proofs of it in Hol.'s accounts of Henry IV.'s reign, he got indications enough when perusing his narrative of the times of Richard II. . According to Hol. II/779, Hotspur was in 1387 old enough "to be sent to the seas in order to beat back the attempts of the enemies"; and had, as early as that time, "got a name amongst the common people to be a very hardy and valiant gentleman". Even as early as 1378, at the recapture of Berwick Castle, "The Earl of Northumberland's son spread there first his banner and did so valiantly that he deserved singular commendation" (Hol. II 721); whereas the Prince, born in 1387, was only 11 years old at the coronation of his father in 1399. Henry Percy, probably born in 1364, was even three years older than the King, and 23 years older than the Prince. In 1403, Hotspur was 39 years old; Henry IV., 36; and the Prince only 16.

We see how little Shak. suffered himself to be bound by historical fetters; and if Hotspur has become a young man again, the boy Harry, on the other hand, has already reached the age of a youth. But the dramatist was really compelled to do this; for the age of sixteen years would not only be inconsistent with the life we see him lead in the company of Falstaff, but also with the part he is to play in the battle of Shrewsbury.

"Thrice", so continues the King in the play, "hath this Mars in swathing clothes, this infant warrior, in his enterprises discomfited great Douglas" ll. 112 14. We know not whether this account of the great heroes of Chevy Chase is historical. As far as we can gather from Hol.'s History of Scotland, it is only partly so. According to Vol. V 405, Archembald, Earl of Douglas, succeeded his father in 1400. In 1402, by his order, two inroads into England were made.

The leader of the first was Thomas Haliburton; of the second, Patrick Hepborne. Haliburton was successful, whereas Hepborne was beaten at Nesbit. The third expedition ended with the complete overthrow of the Scotch at Homildon, where Douglas himself had the command. Perhaps Shak. made Douglas the leader in all these skirmishes, and represented the first as also a defeat.

It is not unlikely that a passage in the Scotch chronicle may have had influence upon this remark of the King's. Hol. says V/406 "Archembald was very unfortunate in most of his enterprises, so far forth that he never wan a battle, wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named 'Tinneman'", a word of which the first part seems to signify "to lose", if it is derived from the old Norse "tyna". "But", so continues the chronicler, "he ever fought with great manhood, and no default could be found at any time in his own person." Shak.'s praise must therefore be regarded as not deviating from history.

The King's directions for the war, at the end of the scene, seem to be inventions of the poet. At least, they are not to be discovered in Holinshed.

Blunt says in the drama, ll. 164—66:

"Lord Mortimer of Scotland has sent word
That Douglas and the English rebels met
The eleventh of this month at Shrewsbury."

Upon this man, who bore the same title as Mortimer of England, namely Earl of March, — we understand that he was the earl of the Scottish marches, as Mortimer was the earl of the English ones — Shak. also bestowed the family name of Mortimer, misled by the coincidence of the titles. But these lords have nothing to do with each other. This Earl of March, the Scotchman, and the old Douglas, father to our Archembald, were competitors for the marriage of their respective daughters with the son of the Scotch King. But although the Earl of March had already got an affirmative answer from King Robert, yet, it

was the daughter of Douglas who was married to the Earl of Rothsay. After this faithlessness, a breach between the Earl of March and his sovereign could not be avoided, and the offended lord betook himself to England with the intention of suing for aid against Robert (cf. *Hol. Hist. of Scotland* V/403/4). He was of the greatest use to Henry, whose cause he embraced, for it was he who urged the King to make haste against the rebels, and to surprise them at Shrewsbury (cf. *Hol. Ill*/24). In the play, he only sends a message, and the poet does not give him the credit which *Hol.* attributes to him in the King's cause; nor does *Shak.* give the least hint how he happened to be of the King's party. The dramatist had already ignored him in speaking of the battle of Homildon in which he was an ally of Hotspur, as we have seen in I 1 (cf. *dis. Act II*/3).

As to the speeches of father and son in this scene, we do not think them deserving of approbation in all their details. The words of the King, the purpose of which, no doubt, was to reform the Prince and to waken his conscience in these days of danger, appear to us rather to contain a lesson of machiavellism than moral precepts; and their pedagogic value may be questioned. By the opposite party, Henry IV. is always represented as a great hypocrite, as "a vile politician" (cf. play I/3 l. 241), and Hotspur says in the same place, ll. 251—52:

"Why, what a candy deal of courtesy

This fawning greyhound then did proffer me!"

But here even Henry himself confesses that he is a vile politician by saying ll. 50—54:

"And then I stole all courtesy from heaven,

And dress'd myself in such humility

That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts,

Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths

Even in the presence of the crowned king."

Is a man who must himself appear base to his son after these confessions, able to play the part of a moralist?

But we will lay aside all modern feelings of ethics, and even admit these rules of diplomacy to be necessary at a time when cunning was perhaps virtue, and when the ideals of chivalry were vanishing more and more. But, did the Prince need such rules? Not at all; for he is even a greater diplomatist than his father, as appears in l/2. Nevertheless, the speech contains enough to have the desired effect; moreover, we cannot suppose the Prince to remember all the King has said, and all that has slipped out of his mouth in an enormous speech of just a hundred lines, after which the father allows his son no more than one and a half for a reply.

The prince's promise "to be hereafter more himself" (ll. 92/93) seems to be sincere, but the following words, with which he supports it, appear to us partly too artificial, and partly somewhat too prophetic: ll. 142-48

"For every honour sitting on his helm,
Would they were multitudes, and on my head
My shames redoubled! for the time will come,
That I shall make this nothern youth exchange
His glorious deeds for my indignities.
Percy is but my factor, good my lord,
To engross up glorious deeds on my behalf;"

We should like to ask, and leave it an open question, whether a hero whose glorious deeds are "multitudes" loses his honour by finding his death in the chances of war. Or can a rascal, — and the prince could be called one, if his "shames were redoubled" — by killing incidentally such a "Mars" as Hotspur, inherit all his glory, and wash out his own villany? Did Achilles lose his glory, did the twelve peers lose theirs at Ronceval, did even Napoleon lose his fame at Waterloo?

If these words of the Prince's appear to us also too prophetic, we would fain ask again whether it corresponds to the dramatic rules that a person in a confident tone should play the seer, and foretell a future event accurately

as it is represented by the dramatist later on. For this is what the Prince does here: he seems not only to know that he will be wounded, but even that he will receive the hurt in the face, cf. l. 136: "And stain my favours (= features) in a bloody mask"; and that he will encounter Hotspur somewhere in the battle and vanquish him, is for him a matter of fact.

Scene III.

This scene is in close connection with II/4. Falstaff who, when snoring behind the hangings, had been robbed by the Prince a second time, has perceived his loss and questions the hostess about the matter. A dispute arises, which is put an end to by the Prince's admitting having picked his friend's pockets, to get nothing but "tavern bills and memorandums of bawdy-houses." Then Falstaff and the hostess make peace, to cement which the old glutton commands breakfast. Finally Harry gives some orders touching the war.

It seems that the Prince, who enters the scene only towards the end of it, and whose words, graver than before, fall at last into metre, is going "to be more himself." On the other side, Falstaff is quite himself, and if he so far imitates "the rare and brave words" of his young friend as also to speak in verse, — he does not often do so, and prefers very material prose — nevertheless he does not soar very high in it, and in his rhyme:

"Rare words! brave world! Hostess, my breakfast;
come!

O! I could wish this tavern were my drum."

promulgates one of his characteristic articles of faith.

There is nothing traceable to Hol. in this scene.

Act IV.

Scene I.

Time has advanced, and the scene represents the rebel camp near Shrewsbury. There, Hotspur, Douglas, and

Worcester are assembled with their forces, and the talk of the leaders bears upon the impending events. A message arrives to say that sickness prevents old Percy from coming; and after they have commented variously upon this fact, other news of the approaching enemies and of Glendower's delay reaches them.

The historical nucleus of this scene is a short account in Hol., saying III/23: that "the Earl of Northumberland was not with them, but being sick, had promised upon his amendment to repair unto them with all convenient speed." The news of this historical fact, reported by the poet a short time before the battle, seems to have been known to the rebels long before they encamped near Shrewsbury; for the chronicler mentions it after Worcester's flight from London, and together with the first measures taken by the confederates.

Although neither Glendower nor Mortimer are named in the chronicle among those who accompanied the Percies at Shrewsbury, yet Hol. does not expressly say that they were not present, nor does he mention any letters of excuse from them. Following a passage in the chronicle, we are, on the contrary, inclined to believe that, if Glendower himself took no part in the battle, he, or at least a part of his troops was not far from the place; for III/25 we read: "The Welshmen also which before had lain lurking in the woods, mountains and marshes, hearing of this battle toward, came to the aid of the Percies and refreshed the wearied people with new succours.", which is a striking deviation from Shak.'s version of the matter.

Sir Richard Vernon, who gives intelligence of the approach of the King's forces, is also named in the chronicle (cf. III/24).

It is further to be remarked that after III/1 we entirely lose sight in the play of Glendower and of Sir Edmund Mortimer. The latter, if we remember rightly, is not mentioned any more, either in the drama or even in the chro-

nicle, in the reign of Henry IV.; for Hol.'s account III/33 refers to the little sons of the defunct Earl of March, to Edmund, the young Earl, and to his brother Roger, and not to Sir Edmund Mortimer (in the play he is the Earl), uncle to the boys and brother to the late Earl. This time (III/33) the statements of the chronicler are historical (cf. III/22).

As to Glendower, he is only occasionally spoken of in the second part of our play, whereas in Hol. he is mentioned several times more until 1409, when he dies of starvation.

For the approach of the King's forces in several detachments, we could not find any authority in the chronicle.

This scene breathes a manly and warlike spirit; and notwithstanding the alarming news, neither Douglas, who declares (II. 84/85) that "there is not such a word spoke of in Scotland as this term of fear", nor Hotspur, who is "on fire to hear this rich reprisal is so nigh and yet not his", are discouraged. However, towards the end, Hotspur on hearing that the number of his enemies amounts to thirty thousand, -- Hol. only states the number of the rebels -- seems to have a foreboding of the catastrophe, when he says l. 134: "Doomsday is near; die all, die merrily." These words contrast a little too much with his former confident speeches.

Scene II.

This scene is laid within sound of the bells of Coventry, not far from Shak.'s native town, — the direct distance being only 27 km., — near the double town Warwick-Leamington and in the neighbourhood of Kenilworth Castle. The ragged regiment, the men of which are as lean and miserable as their captain is fat and in good condition, makes its appearance. They seem only likely to be of use in battle in so far as the enemy must spend time in killing them instead of better troops. The soldiers, if this term can be used, are beggarly to such a degree that even Falstaff feels a sense of shame, which, to be sure, is very rare

with him; and in addition thinks it necessary to explain to us the manner in which he got them, namely“ by misusing damnably the king’s press in getting three hundred and odd pounds in exchange of a hundred and fifty soldiers” (play II. 12—14). Then the Prince and Westmoreland meet him, and after having duly criticized this sort of soldiers, they exhort him to “make haste”, because Hotspur is “already in the field” (II. 69/70).

This scene, which on the whole came from the poet’s imagination, seems to have an historical ground in the following passage in Hol.’s account of Richard II.’s reign, which passage we owe to Boswell-Stone.

Vol. II, page 778, the chronicler says that in 1387 “the lord admiral understanding that the Duke of Glocester and many other noblemen would see the muster of his men, used all diligence and spared no costs to have the most choicest and pickedst fellows that might be gotten, not following the evil example of others in time past, which received tag and rag to fill up their numbers whom they hired for small wages and reserved the residue to their purses.”

It is quite natural that Shak. should assign the part of such a recruiting officer to Falstaff, who has not only sufficient want of principle to act thus, but also the wit to say that these miserable creatures “would fill a pit as well as better” (I. 61).

The town of Coventry may have been chosen by Shak. for the action of this scene, firstly because it is on the way from London to Shrewsbury, secondly because it is near his native town and was perhaps known to him, and thirdly — and this appears to us to be the chief reason — because it occurs in the chronicle at about this date. It was namely to attract notice a year later, in 1404, by serving as a meeting-place for the so called laymen’s parliament, “where none were chosen knights for the counties and burgesses for the towns that had any skill in the laws of the land” (Hol. III/30).

Scene III.

We are now again in the rebel camp, where opinions disagree whether it be advisable to give battle immediately, or to defer it until certain reinforcements have arrived. The dispute is not yet ended when Sir Walter Blunt appears to deliver the King's offer of pardon. Hotspur, after having read to Blunt the register of sins attributed to Henry, replies to the envoy that he will send his uncle to bring the King his answer.

In Hol., no such dissension among the rebels can be discovered. They, in reality, had not time for weighing all sorts of plans, for "the King was in sight of his enemies, before they were in doubt of any such thing". (Hol. III/24). The single previous resolution they could take was "to stay from assaulting the town of Shrewsbury, which enterprise they were ready to have taken in hand" and to exhort the soldiers to prepare themselves for battle (cf. Hol. III/24). All these historical facts in the chronicle are neglected by Shakespeare.

On the other hand, Hol. knows nothing of reinforcements, which on both sides, according to the drama, were not yet present when the battle took place.

As the statements of the dramatist and of the chronicler concerning the different parleys in this and the following scenes differ very much, we shall consider them all together later on, in order to attain more clearness than would be possible if we were to treat them separately.

As to the rebels' disagreement, the poet may have introduced it to show once more the want of a single commander-in-chief.

Scene IV.

This scene represents a room in the Archbishop's palace at York. The prelate dispatches Sir Michael to the Lord-Marshal, to his cousin Scroop and to others with several letters, of which we can guess the tenour. They probably

contained orders for these lords to set their forces in readiness in case the King should have heard of the bishop's machinations and intend to take revenge on him.

All that Hol. reports in this year of the prelate; is the fact that he devised the articles of the Percies.

This scene has evidently been invented to prepare us for the part the Archbishop has to play in the second part of this drama.

We could not find in the chronicle either Sir Michael or Scroop, the Archbishop's cousin; they perhaps escaped our search. It is possible that Shak. may mean Sir Stephan Scroop who, according to Hol. (II/858), was in the company of Richard II. in Flint Castle. This Stephan Scroop was brother to William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire, treasurer of Richard II., who was beheaded in 1399 at Bristol by order of the Duke of Lancaster (Hol. II., 853/54). But the Archbishop is always represented both by the chronicler and by the poet as the brother of the beheaded Scroop, and in this case Stephan would be his brother too, and not his cousin. Deighton and other commentators whom we consulted on the point affirm that the Archbishop has nothing to do with William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire. (cf. dis. I/3).

Act V.

Scenes I. and II.

Scene I.

The King's camp near Shrewsbury is the stage-direction for the first scene. Worcester and Vernon appear before Henry to bring Hotspur's answer. But what Thomas Percy says, is only the repetition of the complaints Hotspur had pronounced in the presence of Sir Walter Blunt at the first parley. The Prince of Wales proposes a single combat "to save the blood on either side", whilst the King, without rejecting his son's proposal, offers the rebels a second time

his grace and pardon. Falstaff's characteristic interpretation of the notion of Honour closes the scene.

Scene II.

Worcester and Vernon have returned to their own camp, and Thomas Percy, who is not contradicted by the latter, distorts the king's answer. The only message he delivers faithfully, is the prince's challenge to Hotspur. This gives Vernon occasion for the very sympathetic eulogy he bestows upon the Prince. Then Hotspur harangues his followers, bids the "lofty instruments of war", to be sounded, and with the war-cry: Esperance! Percy! they enter the battle after the courtesy of a last embrace.

After all the parleys have now taken place, we should like to point out first of all the differences between Hol. and Shak. touching them, in the following summary.

Holinshed's Account: III/25.

I. On the 20th of July, the day before the battle, the rebels send the King their articles by Thomas Caiton and Thomas Salvain. These articles charged the King with manifest perjury and murder, and ended with a defiance annexed to them.

II. Henry answers the rebels, (by whom, is not said) "that he was ready with dint of sword to prove their quarrel false".

Conclusion: these messages only aggravate the relations between the two parties.

III. "The next day, in the morning, they set their battles in order on both sides, and now whilst the warriors looked, when the token of battle should be given, the abbot of Shrewsbury, and one of the clerks of the privy seal were sent from the king unto the Percies to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reasonable agreement".

IV. Hotspur "now begins to give ear to the King's offers", and sends his uncle, the Earl of Worcester to Henry to negotiate with him.

V. The King, "condescending unto all that was reasonable, and humbling himself more than was meet for his estate", gives the Earl such an answer as was calculated to ensure peace.

VI. The Earl of Worcester reports quite the contrary of what the King had charged him with.

VII. The battle begins.

The representation in the drama:

1. Act IV., Scene III.: Sir Walter Blunt comes into the rebels' camp with gracious offers from the King.
2. Act V., Scene I.: Worcester and Vernon are sent to the King to bring Hotspur's answer, and to deliver the confederates' grievances.
3. Act V., Scene I.: Thomas Percy and Vernon are dismissed by the monarch with a renewed offer of his pardon.
4. Act V., Scene II.: Worcester distorts his message.
5. Act V., Scenes II./III.: The fight begins.

Shak. simplifying the accounts of his authority, leaves out the parleys I and II, reported by Hol., but not their matter.

The dramatist's 1 corresponds to the chronicler's III, with this difference however, that in the play it is Sir Walter Blunt who is sent by the King; in the chronicle, the Abbot of Shrewsbury with a clerk.

Shak.'s 2 is connected with Hol.'s IV, and with I in so far as the articles, which in the chronicle are sent to the monarch by Caiton and Salvain, are in the play orally delivered to Henry by Worcester, yet without a challenge.

The poet's 3 and Hol.'s V are almost identical, but Shak. does not attribute to the King words or offers which comprised a humiliation for him.

If the King says in the play ll. 110/12:

"But if he will not yield,

Rebuke and dread correction wait on us,
And they shall do their office".

3 contains also that which Hol. reports in II; and in Shak. the King dispatches orally what needs a message in Hol..

Shak.'s 4 and the chronicler's VI, the poet's 5 and Hol.'s VII, correspond to one another.

We shall now treat of the details of these scenes:

As to Worcester's treachery, Shak. gives a plausible explanation of it, whereas it remains totally unexplained in the chronicle. Whether Thomas Percy's mistrust in the King's promise was well founded in this case, we do not know; we only can say that mistrust would have been in place in the negotiations in Gaultree Forest in 1405, as we shall see later on.

It would lead us too far to allude to all the minor details in the play, which could not be documented by passages in Holinshed. But we may also read between the lines of an historical work, and if we do not find in the chronicle that the Earl of Westmoreland, or any other person, was a hostage (cf. play V/2 l. 29 "Deliver up my Lord of Westmoreland"), it is almost certain that this general measure of prudence, the demanding of hostages, was also here observed, and left out as being a matter of course by Holinshed. Nor do we wonder at not finding in the chronicle the Prince's challenge to Hotspur and the King's acceptance of it. But this dramatic incident cannot be supported by Hol., because it is too unlikely, in addition to not being historical. For is it probable that the king would have accepted such a proposal, having, as he had, an army far greater than that of the rebels, and being convinced both of Hotspur's invincibility and of his son's inferiority? Is it likely that the King would have put his stake into the weak hands of his son, when he had strong forces behind him; or that the Prince who, as he says himself, had always been a "truant in chivalry", would have had even a thought of such a presumtuious proposal?

Shak. does not give the reason why Worcester passes over in silence the monarch's consenting to the single

combat suggested by his son, or why the Earl places in its stead Henry's resolution to join battle. And here we may perhaps also see that one improbability gives rise to another. For, if the King had not the least chance of seeing his son victor in this duel, could the rebels, on the other side, have had a greater stroke of good fortune than to see their cause committed to Hotspur alone, to whom it would have been easy to vanquish this truant in chivalry, and who, as it appears from his words l. 48: "O would the quarrel lay upon our heads", would have been glad to have had the welfare of his party in his own hands?

Of course, this single combat, which was to be an ordeal, has only been introduced by Shak. to show the Prince's courage and to prepare the way for his victory over the Prince of Honour. But as the poet could not make use of it, being bound in some respects by history, he was forced to represent the two parties, and especially the confederates (Worcester and Vernon), as not perceiving the scope and significance of such a proposal.

If, as Kabel supposes in his work "Die Sage von Heinrich V. bis zu Shakespeare", Shak. made use of Daniel's Civil Wars for other passages, he may have taken the idea of this single combat from it too.

Hotspur's speech in V/2 is a paraphrase of an harangue reported by Hol. III/24, which however does not by far breathe the manly ardour found in the play.

The war-cry "Esperance! Percy!" Shak. found likewise in his authority (III/25), whereas the arrival of letters just before the battle seems to be an invention of his own.

Scene III.

We see the parties engaged between the two camps. Douglas and Sir Walter Blunt, who is clothed as the King, fight against each other. The Scotchman kills the pretended King, but learns from Hotspur that he has a second time slain only the "likeness" of Henry. Then the heaviest hero

of the royal army makes his appearance; and, over the body of Sir Walter, continues his reflections on honour. Now the Prince meets his friend, whose favourite weapon, a bottle of sack, — which in place of a pistol Falstaff bears in his case — does not fail to provoke the old toper's jest and joke even in that hot hour.

For the account of this battle, Hol. has recourse to Hall and to Walsingham, whose statements he does not combine, but quotes separately; this circumstance renders the comparison of the play with the chronicle a little difficult.

The statement in the play that Douglas slew Sir Walter Blunt and three others apparelled as the King, agrees with Holinshed. But in neither account does the chronicler say that among these was also the Earl of Stafford, whom Shak. reports to have been the first victim of that generous disguise. Hol. only names him among the dead.

The quotation from Walsingham in our chronicle represents Sir Walter Blunt as the King's standard-bearer, and runs thus: "They gave such a violent onset upon them that stood about the King's standard that slaying his standard-bearer Sir Walter Blunt, and overthrowing the standard they made slaughter of all that stood about it". If this passage is to be taken literally, that is to say, if Sir Walter himself actually bore the standard, and if "standard-bearer" was not a mere title of honour, he was not clothed in the King's suit; as, in that case, he would have worn it to no purpose.

On the other hand, Hall, in Holinshed, says III/26: "Douglas slew at that instant Sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the King's suit and clothing", and the office of standard-bearer is not given to him here. Shak. seems to have made use of the second statement, which he may have understood to mean that Sir Walter Blunt too wore "the King's clothing". But we are not sure whether the passage must be interpreted in this way, or whether "apparelled" refers only to the "three other", and not to Sir Walter Blunt at all.

Scene IV.

This scene brings the catastrophe of the drama, and two far more interesting single combats find their issue. Douglas after having vanquished two sham Kings, is now to find the real one. The beginning of the fight is favourable to the Scotchman; and Henry is in great danger, when the Prince, although he has been wounded, comes to his aid and compels Douglas to flee. This glorious feat done, and his father's lost opinion redeemed, the Prince meets Hotspur. They engage in battle, and Henry Percy, the most famous hero of his time, is overcome by the Prince of Wales, who hears the war-drum for the first time in his life, and draws for the first time his "maiden sword". Falstaff is not so fortunate as his Royal Hal. He fights with Douglas, and, despising honour, he prefers a feigned death to a real one. But the Prince and his brother meet him soon, alive again, with Percy, whom he pretends to have killed, on his back. At length, a flourish of trumpets indicates the victory of the King's party.

As to the wounding of the prince by an arrow, we find this circumstance also in Hol. III/26. Shak. has however altered the details connected with this fact a little. In the chronicle, the Prince declines to retire, "lest his departure should strike some fear into the hearts of his men" (III/26 Hol.). Nor will he withdraw, in the play, "from such a field as this, where stain'd nobility lies trodden on" (I. 13). But in the chronicle he applies these words to the King, who, anxious about his son, has left the battle. As, indeed, in the play also, the Prince says to his father, II 5/6: "I beseech your majesty, make up, lest your retirement do amaze your friends." Moreover, according to Hol. III/26, not the King, but divers noblemen were about the Prince when he was wounded.

The monarch's encounter with Douglas is based on the chronicler, whose version of the incident we give below. Hol. however does not say who effected the King's

deliverance; for the words III/26: "The prince that day help his father like a lusty young gentleman", must be considered, we think, as a general remark of the chronicler, and must not be referred to the King's dangerous position, which is reported later on in quite another connection.

Perhaps the Prince supplies in the play the place of the Earl of March, the Scotchman, who evidently has not succeeded in attracting Shak.'s attention. About this lord, Hol., following Walsingham, says III/25: "Henry Percy, and the Earl Douglas bent their whole forces towards the King, coming upon him with spears and swords so fiercely that the *Earl of March, the Scot*, perceiving their purpose withdrew the King from that side of the field for his great, benefit and safeguard . . ."

The part the Prince plays in this scene as the preserver of his father has the object of dispersing the last shade of suspicion the King might still entertain of his son.

According to Kabel, this deed of the Prince's is borrowed from Daniel, who is the first to record this fact. We should like to observe, without contradicting Kabel, that this incident follows also quite naturally from the play itself and from Hol., in following whose account Shak. only needed to substitute the Prince for the Earl of March.

Douglas' words l. 25: "Another king, they grow like Hydra's heads," are the poetical transcription of Hol.'s: "I marvel to see so many kings thus suddenly arise one in the neck of another." III/26.

It is perhaps not very important to state that in the chronological order of these events Shak. seems to differ from his authority. In Hol., first the King is thrown down, and then Sir Walter Blunt and three others in the King's suits are killed; in the play, the deaths of Stafford and Blunt precede Henry's peril.

As for "valiant Shirley" whose "spirit", with those of Stafford and Blunt, "is in the prince's arms"; and as for Sir Nicholas Gawsey and Clifton, who sent for succour;

these persons are named by Hol. among the dead. Shak. reports the first as having been killed by Douglas and, as we understand the passage, also "apparelled in the King's suit". To bring about the death of the others, he constructs a previous dangerous situation which, as we must imagine, the King and his son come too late to relieve.

The single combat between Harry and Hotspur and the Prince's triumph over his adversary, is a fiction of Shak.; at least the latter fact is, whereas the idea of the single combat may, according to Kabel, be traced to Daniel's Civil Wars. Our chronicler only numbers Henry Percy among the dead, not saying who slew him. But, since Percy was killed, we do not wonder that Shak. should bestow on Henry Monmouth the fame of having vanquished him, should attribute to the Prince that glorious deed, prepared for in the whole play and alluded to many a time, should at last make the chief heroes of the play meet in combat, should bring into collision two stars "which could not keep their motion in one sphere."

Although the play, planned as it is, may require such an issue, yet if we would remain consistent with what we have said before, we, influenced perhaps by history, cannot but feel the unlikelihood of Harry's victory. Shak. does not so present the incident that one can suppose Hotspur to be quite exhausted, and the Prince quite fresh; in which case the greatest hero might be vanquished by a beginner in chivalry. Quite the contrary: for he tells us that the prince had been so severely wounded that his father bade him withdraw, whereas he does not intimate that Hotspur was in a similar condition. Thus the greatest champion of the time is overthrown by a wounded adversary who is in battle for the first time.

With the laudatory words which Harry bestows on the dead Percy, Kabel compares a passage from the famous Ballad of Chevy Chase, in which Percy praises the vanquished Douglas in a similar manner. A close parallel may

indeed be quoted from Shak. himself, the eulogy of Brutus contained in Antony's last speech in Julius Caesar.

In this scene, the Prince says to his brother John of Lancaster, after having already praised him for having "held Lord Percy at the point": "full bravely hast thou fleshed thy maiden sword." l. 129. But this princely boy probably was not in this battle; for, born in 1389, he was then only fourteen years old.

Desirous as we are to see the fat knight on the stage, yet we do not wish to see him play in this scene the part he does. We do not mean so much his combat with Douglas, we admit even his feigned death and humorous resurrection; but we do not find it fitting that he should take possession of the dead Hotspur in the way he does, that he should give him a new wound in the thigh, and that the King of Revellers should shoulder like a flour-bag the King of Honour. The mockery of honour is carried too far by Falstaff. We have here somewhat of the grotesque; a thread of the woof has entered the warp where it disturbs the harmony of the web.

Whether the words of the prince, ll. 154/55:

"For my part, if a lie may do thee grace,
I'll gild it with the happiest terms I have."

— meaning here the bestowing of the honour of having killed Hotspur on Falstaff — are to be taken literally, we do not know. If so, we have to note yet another great improbability. According to the following scene, it seems that they must indeed be understood literally: for the Prince does not mention with a single word, nor even give the least hint, that it was he who killed Hotspur. But if this be so, this marvellous exploit of the Prince's, almost the quintessence of this part of the drama, would remain entirely unrewarded, and unknown to the King, to whom Harry had solemnly promised beforehand to perform it. The first part would then almost lose its point! And, indeed, the next and very last scene of this drama ends somewhat

unsatisfactorily: for one would expect the Prince to be praised and rewarded for having contributed in no small degree to the victory.

We may anticipate slightly and remark here that later on, in the second part, mention is nowhere made either of this exploit of the Prince's or, on the other hand, of Falstaff's reward.

It seems to be Shak.'s practice in this play, after having said something the consequences of which would lead to a palpable improbability, or to a striking deviation from history, to pass them over in silence. But we had sometimes yet another impression, namely that if a dramatist who writes an historical play deviates from history, he may approach again to historical fidelity by neglecting the persistence or the consequences of an invented incident, being influenced both by his imagination and by truth. And so it is in this case: the single combat, or at least Harry's victory, must be regarded as a child of the poet's imagination; whereas the Prince's concealing his exploit, and the fact of its not bringing either honour to him or a material reward to Falstaff, may be due to the influence of history, which could not give honour or reward for nothing.

Scene V.

The day is won for the King. Worcester and Vernon are taken prisoners and condemned to death as traitors to both parties, whereas Douglas, by the prince's generous proposal, is set at liberty without ransom. The monarch's dispositions for the repression of the still unvanquished rebels close the first part.

In general, the drama and the chronicle agree with each other.

Hol. says III/26: that "the Earl of Worcester, the setter forth of all this mischief was taken prisoner", and that "he, the Baron of Kinderton (not named in the play), and Sir Richard Vernon were condemned and beheaded the

Monday following. The Earl's head was sent to London there to be set on the bridge."

Shak., with the exception of the number of knights on the King's side, gives only general indications about the loss of men in this battle. According to the chronicle III/26 "there died in all upon the king's side 1600, and 4000 were grievously wounded." "In all there died of those that fought on the Percies' side about 5000," among these "the most part of the knights and esquires of the county of Chester." As to three knights and one earl reported by Shak. I. 6: "Three knights upon our party slain to day, a noble earl and many a creature else", Hol. also mentions one earl (of Stafford), but puts the number of knights killed in the King's army at ten.

Douglas' capture and the circumstances connected with it are represented by Shak., or rather reported by him, according to his authority. As to Douglas' liberation, the suggestion of which the dramatist attributes to the Prince, it is conceived and accorded by the King himself in the chronicle. Harry's exploit, the honour he pays to the body of his adversary, his concealing his achievement, betraying an inconceivable modesty, are not enough; and so the poet adds to this bouquet of virtues yet the flower of Pardon, and that of Acknowledgment of his enemy's bravery.

In the reason he gives for this release without ransom, Shak. entirely agrees with Holinshed. But we do not think this reason to be the right one. In reality, that act of grace appears to us not to have proceeded from the "cherishing of such high deeds," as we read in the drama I. 30, or from the King's "acknowledgment of his valiantness", as the term is in the chronicle, but from the King's diplomacy. Glendower and the Earl of March were not yet vanquished, Hotspur's father was not yet overcome, a new rebellion was already fermenting in York, and Henry, weakened by this battle, though the victor, certainly had no greater interest than to make truce with the Scotch for a time. But the

monarch may have learned how it was possible to lay an enemy under an obligation and to make him a friend, from the conduct of the Percies after the battle of Homildon.

The King's dispositions, with which the first part finishes are not inconsistent with his situation after the fight, although they deviate in some particulars from Holinshed. After his victory, the King did not resolve to go to Wales, but "having set a stay in things about Shrewsbury, went straight to York" (Hol. III/26). Only after the peace with Northumberland had been made, "the King returning forth of Yorkshire, determined to go into Wales." (Hol. III/27).

The post of John of Lancaster, who with Westmoreland is destined in the play to meet Northumberland, is occupied in the chronicle by Sir Robert Waterton. Hol. III/26: "but the Earl of Westmoreland and Sir Robert Waterton, knight, had got an army of foot, and meant to meet Northumberland." To the latter, Shak. adds a second enemy, the Archbishop of York, although he seems not to have stirred immediately after the battle of Shrewsbury. For, whilst Hol. says that the King was at York for some time after his victory (cf. III/26), he does not mention the prelate at all; whence we may conclude, firstly, that Henry did not know, or, for the reason adduced for the release of Douglas, feigned not to know the part the prelate had played in this rebellion; and, secondly, that the Archbishop, not having yet taken any decisive step against the monarch, still felt sure of his see. Shak. mentions him thus early, as also in III/3, to prepare us for the part he has to play in the second part of Henry IV.

If in the discussion of the first part, the end of which we have now reached, a great number of questions have remained unanswered, or have been answered unsatisfactorily; if we have asked and searched, and often searched and asked in vain; we can take comfort in the reflection that others than ourselves have experienced the difficulty of treating a Shakespearian theme, let it appear never so easy.

We should therefore like to quote, as a conclusion to the first part, some lines from Matthew Arnold which best express our feelings, and which will give us encouragement to approach the second part of Henry IV.

“Others abide our question. Thou art free.
We ask and ask — Thou smilest and art still,
Out-topping knowledge, For the loftiest hill,
Who to the stars uncrowns his majesty,
Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling-place,
Spares but the cloudy border of his base
To the foil’d searching of mortality;
And thou, who didst the stars and sunbeams know,
Self-school’d, self-scanned, self-honour’d, self-secure,
Didst tread on earth unguess’d at. — Better so!
All pains the immortal spirit must endure,
All weakness which impairs, all griefs which bow,
Find their sole speech in that victorious brow”.

Henry IV.

Second Part.

Act I.

Scene I.

“Then brook abridgement, and your eyes advance,” . . .
Shak. Henry V, Act V, Prologue l. 44.

This scene is laid in Warkworth Castle, where old Northumberland receives the news of his son’s defeat and death. Although the Earl is still ill, this buffet of Fate, instead of rendering him worse, “has in some measure made him well”. He throws away his crutch, demands his scaly gauntlet, and deliberates with his vassals “the aptest way for safety and revenge”.

The single passage traceable to Hol. is Morton’s mention that the King has sent out a speedy power to encounter the Earl, under the conduct of young Lancaster and West-

moreland, which account, however, deviates from the chronicle in so far as, in the latter, Sir Robert Waterton takes the place of the Prince, as we have seen before.

As to the historical allusions in the "Induction" spoken by "Rumour", who has the task of linking together the two parts of the play, we neither can find in the chronicle that Northumberland was "crafty-sick", nor does Hol. say that after the battle of Shrewsbury the rumour of the king's defeat pervaded the land

"Between that royal field of Shrewsbury

And this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone".

The latter line, by the way, is as poetical as it is unhistorical and unlikely, whereas false rumours arise every day. We think moreover that Shak. does not give in the first part any hint pointed enough to enable us to perceive Northumberland's sickness to be a feigned one; and, but for the above expression, we should not have read the first part anew to search after a line which might lend it support. However we find none, unless it be the passage:

"Yet doth he give us bold advertisement,

That with our small conjunction we should on,

To see how fortune is disposed to us".

IV/1 f. p. ll. 36—38. The sudden amendment perhaps affords a better proof of a "crafty sickness", but the reason Northumberland gives for it is not at all unlikely. Later on, in II/3 ll. 10, 11, 15 of this part, there is a far more distinct allusion to a feigned sickness, when Lady Percy says:

"The time was, father, that you broke your word,

When you were more endear'd to it, than now.

Who then persuaded you to stay at home?"

But here, in the prologue, we are most surprised to hear such an accusation uttered against Hotspur's father.

Morton's report of the Archbishop's being up "with well-appointed powers" makes us at once overleap two years, and alludes to this prelate's rebellion, which did not

take place until May 1405. Thus Shak. represents this new revolt as immediately following the battle of Shrewsbury, and passes over many events in silence, including the measures taken by the old Earl after the death of his son, of which only the first, the warlike preparations, are mentioned in this scene. According to the chronicle III/26: "The Earl of Northumberland was now (after the battle) marching forward with great power". But upon hearing of the army sent against him under Westmoreland and Waterton, he "suddenly turned back and withdrew himself into Warkworth Castle". The King, who in the mean time had reached York, where he made a stay for some time, entered into negotiations with his former friend, and had an interview with him, the result of which was a reconciliation through Henry's diplomacy. For he "dissembled the matter, because the Earl had Berwick in his possession, and further had his castles of Alnewik, Warkworth and other fortified with Scots". In a second account, we learn that the Earl "was committed for a time to safe custody". However this may have been, a peace was made, which the Earl kept until he gave ear to the Archbishop and took part in his revolt in 1405. Thus the dramatist omits the Earl's temporary submission, an historical fact he could not well make use of without injuring the dramatic action of the play.

As for the identity of Bardolph, this lord is mentioned by Hol. after the events of 1405. Vol. III/38: "The earl fled with him into Scotland, where they were received of Lord Fleming". Northumberland's companion died of a wound after the battle of Bramham Moor, in 1408, an engagement which was also fatal to his master (cf. Hol. III/45).

We could nowhere discover in the chronicle the Sir John Umfrevile who, as we read in the play, "turned" Travers, the Earl's servant, "back with joyful tidings" (cf. II 34/35). But a certain Lord Robert Umfrevile figures on the king's side, where he is attached to Lord John of Lancaster to "defend the borders against the Scots", (Hol. III/37) He

was also present at the events in Gaultree Forest. Whether this Lord Robert Umfrevile be the same as Sir Robert Umfrevile, vice-admiral of England, who in 1410 "annoied the countries on the sea-coasts of Scotland" we know not (cf. Hol. III/49).

The praise Morton graces the Archbishop with, is evidently based on Hol's account III/37: "Indeed the respect that men had to the archbishop, caused them to like the better of the cause, since the gravity of his age, his integrity of life and incomparable learning with the reverend aspect of his amiable personage moved all men to have him in no small estimation".

As Falstaff's name will be discussed later on, we take the opportunity here of saying a word about the names of Travers and Morton, Northumberland's retainers, which we could not discover in Holinshed. We believe them to have been chosen by the poet with the intention of denoting by their meanings the parts their bearers have to play here, as men whose sad accounts "traverse" and, as it were, "mortally wound" the good news brought by Bardolph.

Scene II.

"A street in London" is the stage-direction for this scene. There the colossus Falstaff accompanied by his pygmy page meets with the Lord Chief Justice. The latter, as may be supposed, does not exactly speak the old glutton fair. But his reproaches are so cleverly warded off by the knight's rapier of wit that the Justice finally gives him his good wishes for the new expedition, in which the King has given him his usual post in order to sever the corpulent recruiting-officer from the prince.

There are only a few historical allusions in this scene, it being on the whole of Shak.'s invention.

Falstaff says II 96/97 "I hear his majesty is returned from Wales with some discomfort". These words probably refer to Hol.'s account of the luckless expedition of 1405,

which the King undertook after the chastisement of the Archbishop, and in which "through abundance of rain and waters he lost fifty of his carriages" (Hol. III/39). The occurrence would then be predated (cf. *dis.* III/1 f. p.)

The king does not seem to have been in Wales just before the events in Gaultree Forest, for we read in Hol. III/36: "The King was minded to have gone into Wales against the Welsh rebels . . . But at that same time there was a conspiracy put in practice against him by the Earl of Northumberland and by Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York . . .", and the chronicler writes on the following page; "The King avertised of these matters, meaning to prevent them, left his journey into Wales . . ."

We could not find in Hol. that Henry at that time was attacked by a fit of apoplexy, as Falstaff would perhaps have liked.

The words of the justice's servant, II 57/58: "He (Falstaff) hath since done good service at Shrewsbury" and the Justice's words II 139/40: "Your day's service at Shrewsbury hath a little gilded over your night's exploit on Gadshill", may perhaps be considered to be an allusion to Falstaff's pretended victory over Hotspur, a lie the prince was willing to "gild with his happiest terms". But we do not think them to have this signification, and the victory over Hotspur, were it considered to be his doing, would have effected much more than a gilding of his robbery, which was long since redressed by the prince's reimbursement.

Scene III.

In the Archbishop's palace, the prelate, and the lords Hastings, Mowbray and Bardolph are assembled to weigh the chances of their rebellious undertaking. After having discussed the question whether it be advisable or not to wait for Northumberland, the rebels, thinking themselves strong enough without the Earl, resolve to take the field.

Not many historical facts are contained in this scene

for Hol. does not mention any such conference of the conspirators as is represented here. The want of a corresponding passage in the chronicle does not however prejudice the likelihood of such a deliberation.

The names of the three lords are indeed recorded in Hol.

As to the resolution of acting at once without waiting for Northumberland, it seems to be based on Hol.'s account III/36 that "the archbishop did not mean to stay, after he saw himself accompanied with a great number of men". There were at least twenty thousand, according to the chronicle, whereas the dramatist speaks of

"(To) five and twénty thóusand mén of chóice," which fills the verse better than "twenty thousand" would have done. The royal forces commented upon by the lords are not mentioned in Shak.'s source.

The rebels' hope that the King would be forced to divide his troops, is well founded, and the words II 71 – 73:

"one power against the French

And one against Glendower; perforce a third

Must take us up." agree with the chronicle.

As we have seen above, the King was going into Wales, before he heard of the Archbishop's rebellion, and in the month of May 1405 "the King of England hearing of the preparation made for war by the Frenchmen, levied four thousand men, wích he sent unto Calais" (Hol. III/35).

We do not agree with Boswell-Stone, who says that Shak. seems to have antedated some assistance rendered by the French to Glendower in the summer of 1405 after the suppression of the rebellion: for there is no need to point to a subsequent historical fact, if we have the above mentioned contemporary one to support the dramatic passage in question. Moreover, during the expedition of the "French marshal called Montmorency, who with twelve thousand men sailed into Wales to aid Glendower," the French and the Welsh almost always operated together, after the former had been "joyfully received by the Welsh

rebels”, which would exclude the division of the royal forces alluded to in this scene (cf. Hol. III/39).

On almost every page of the chronicle, Shak. could find passages, in which the monarch’s pecuniary embarrassment is spoken of: and the fact that “his coffers sounded with hollow poverty and emptiness”, (II 74/75) was certainly for the actual rebels of history also an additional reason for stirring.

The conspirators in the play suppose the Prince to be in Wales in his father’s company: and probably Shak. remembers here what the King had said at the end of the first part:

“Myself and you, son Harry, will towards Wales”. We could however not find in the chronicle a definite indication of the Prince’s whereabouts at this time. Perhaps he was in Wales in the early spring of that year, for we read in the poet’s authority III/33 “In the mean time, to wit the fifteenth of March at a place in Wales called Husk, in a conflict fought betwixt the Welshmen and certain of the *prince’s* company, the son of Owen Glendower was taken and fifteen hundred Welshmen taken and slain”. He is likely to have joined the King, his father, when the latter abandoned his Welsh expedition in order to push towards the north.

Shak.’s styling John of Lancaster “duke” is a minor deviation from Hol. according to whom the title was first conferred on the prince by Henry V, his brother, in 1414.

Act II.

Scene I.

In a street in London, probably not far from Falstaff’s haunt, the hostess with some sheriff’s officers is going to arrest the fat knight, and to take him to the debtor’s prison. But when “the hulk of flesh” comes with his tiny page and Bardolph, Falstaff with his rapier easily keeps off these men who can better handle a pen to “enter an action than manage a weapon to “go into action”. The Lord Chief Justice also makes his appearance here, and the stout knight desiring deliverance from the officers, “because

he is upon hasty employment in the King's affairs", not only succeeds in appeasing the hostess, but also in inducing her to lend him money again. The scene ends with remarks bearing upon the King's approach from Wales.

None of the historical allusions can be supported by an excerpt from the chronicle, neither that to the number of the troops destined to join the forces of John of Lancaster, nor those relating to the details of Henry's stay at Basingstoke. We are even inclined to see a deviation from Hol. when, upon the Chief Justice's question "Come all his forces back?" (l. 183), Gower answers: "No; fifteen hundred foot, five hundred horse are marched up to my Lord of Lancaster". For, according to the chronicle III/37, "The King left his journey into Wales and marched with all speed towards the north parts", a passage which does not indicate a division of the King's forces. But it seems at least to prove that Henry, if already in Wales, which is nearer to York than London is, did not come back to the capital, but chose the shortest way to "the north parts". Probably his whole undivided army followed him, because the new insurrection was far more dangerous than the continual robberies of the Welsh; and it is not impossible that the King was still in London, or at the most on his way to the Welsh borders, when reports of the events in Yorkshire forced him to "leave his journey into Wales" (cf. our remarks upon I/2 s. p.).

Scene II.

In another street of the capital, we see the Prince accompanied by Poins. To judge from Harry's very first words, he seems to have just arrived from Wales. He is not only weary, but is sad too. His heart is bleeding, because his father is so unwell, and only the keeping of "such vile company" as Poins is takes from him "all ostentation of sorrow". However, when Bardolph and Falstaff's dwarf appear, he is soon cheered up by the boy's witty

remarks, which he rewards with a crown: and finally he and Pains form the plan of watching in the disguise of waiters the fat hero's flirtation with Doll Tearsheet.

This scene, which is entirely of Shak.'s invention, runs parallel with 1/2 of the first part, the plotting of the famous robbery corresponding to this eavesdropping scheme, whilst the unnatural monologue is recalled to our memory when we hear the Prince asseverate that he is not so "far in the devil's book" as Falstaff, and that the end will try the man, and when we repeatedly hear him emphasize his sadness, which he nevertheless cannot maintain for any length of time.

We have spoken above of the King's sickness. It has, no doubt, been predated to prepare the hearer thus early in the play for Henry's death.

Scene III.

We are again before Warkworth Castle. This time, the Earl is in conversation with his wife and with his daughter-in-law, Lady Percy. The latter especially tries to withhold Northumberland from the war against the King, and finally succeeds in doing so.

This scene is represented by Shak. as immediately following the first scene of the second part; but in reality, as we have seen, an interval of nearly two years elapsed between the two.

There is nothing in Hol., of which the poet could have made use in composing these lines, neither Lady Northumberland nor Lady Percy being named by the historian.

Hol. writes III/38: "The Earl of Northumberland hearing that his counsel was bewrayed, and his confederates brought to confusion through too much haste of the Archbishop of York, with three hundred horse got him to Berwick. The King coming forward quickly wan the castle of Warkworth. Whereupon the Earl of Northumberland not thinking himself in surety fled with the Lord Berdolf into Scotland". From this excerpt we see how much the dramatist deviates

from his authority; for it was only after the confusion of his allies that the Earl took the resolution of fleeing to the north, and from the words: "through too much haste of the Archbishop" we may conclude that it was not the Earl's fault alone that he was not with his allies in Gaultree Forest. Thus the scene has been predated by Shak., and the historical facts have been altogether changed: for, not the persuasion of two women before the catastrophe, but dire necessity after it, was the cause of the Earl's resolution. But, if the confederates were brought to confusion through too much haste on the part of the Archbishop, they were also ruined by too much slowness on the part of the old laggard of Warkworth; and practically the allies had as little aid from him, although he was still in his own country at the time, as they would have had if he had already been in Scotland before the events in Gaultree Forest. We can therefore give Shak. absolution, because the consequences both of the dramatic and of the historical versions are the same.

We could not find in the chronicle of Henry IV.'s reign. any passage proving that Hotspur spoke "thick" as Lady Percy says in praising "her heart's dear Harry", but it is possible that the account of Richard II.'s reign, with which Henry Percy's youth coincides, may contain some allusion to this infirmity. Hotspur himself seems to hint at this defect when he says V/2 ll. 91, 92 f. p.:

"I thank him, that he cuts me from my tale,
For I profess not talking; . ."

But he manifests in I/3, f. p. an astonishing eloquence, which even becomes bombastical when he thinks it "an easy leap to pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon". cf. I/3 ll. 201, f. p.

Scene IV.

We see before us the well known Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap, the "frank of the old Boar". Here, the trick devised by the Prince is to be carried out. Falstaff and

Mistress Doll appear, and rally each other in expressions the obscenity of which is yet further heightened by the entrance of the swaggerer Pistol. The latter is finally driven out by the stout protector of Mistress Dorothy. At length the princely waiter comes in with his fellow-impostor. They hear in their disguise anything but flatteries about themselves, but the ever ready wit of Falstaff succeeds in appeasing the angry Prince after he has been recognised by the hostess. The revelry is put an end to by the arrival of news from the court bearing upon the new rebellion, which awakens the Prince's conscience, who feels him "much to blame, so idly to profane the precious time" (ll. 339/40).

There is no grain of historical fact in the somewhat coarse fare of this comic scene.

The quarrel in it, which ended in Pistol's ejection, was perhaps influenced by a scene in the *Fam. Vict.* where the vintner's boy reports the quarrel between the Prince's companions in the tavern at Eastcheap.

Act III.

Scene I.

The King not yet restored from his malady, is in a room of his palace. He sends for the Earls of Surrey and Warwick; apostrophises Sleep in the mean time in a very beautiful monologue; and, when the earls have come, confers with them upon the new events, not without making sad reflections on the inconstancy of human friendships.

This council which the King holds with these lords is, of course, the work of Shak., and only the different speeches of the persons taking part in it can be examined respecting their historical contents. As to the two earls, only one of them, the Earl of Surrey, is named in the chronicle, and even of him we could not discover any mention before 1410. In Vol. III/48 we read: "This year, Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Surrey was made chancellor". He died a year later, in 1411 (cf. Hol. III/49).

In giving the dates and accounts of former events to which the King alludes, Shak. not only deviates from Hol., but also from himself, namely from his play Richard II.. We are in 1405. Consequently, it is not eight years, but six years since, in 1399, "This Percy was the man nearest the King's soul and like a brother toiled in his affairs" ll. 61/62.

Henry's words, ll. 65—71:

"But which of you was by

— You, cousin Nevil, as I may remember —

When Richard, with his eye brimful of tears,

Then check'd and rated by Northumberland,

Did speak these words, now proved a prophecy?

'Northumberland, thou ladder by the which

My cousin Bolingbroke ascends my throne';"

refer to Richard II., Act V., Scene I.. There, before the Tower, Northumberland, sent by the usurper, says to the King, ll. 51/52:

"My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke is changed,

You must to Pomfret, not unto the Tower".

Whereupon the King replies, ll. 55/56:

"Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal

The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne . . ."

But neither Henry nor Nevil nor any other person, except the queen, her ladies and a guard, was then present. Nor can Northumberland's words here be called "checking" or "rating".

Shak. seems to have confused two scenes with each other, the one quoted above and the great abdication scene in Richard II., Act IV., Scene I.. There, indeed, Northumberland's words addressed to Richard have somewhat of blame and reproach, when he says, ll. 222—25:

"No more, but that you read

These accusations and these grievous crimes

Committed by your person and your followers

Against the state and profit of this land".

In the latter scene moreover we see Richard's eyes full of tears, as he himself says:

“Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see . . .”
Nor do the words of the King in this scene, l. 72:

“Though then, God knows, I had no such intent”
viz. to ascend the throne, correspond to the facts as they are represented in Richard II., because at that time Henry had already attained the royal dignity.

Shak. seems here to depend entirely upon his memory which fails him in nearly all cases. Perhaps he was no longer in possession of his manuscript of Richard II., otherwise we cannot explain these inaccuracies.

We could not find in the chronicle any passage which might support the King’s remark, ll. 57/59.:

“Tis not ten years gone
Since Richard and Northumberland, great friemds,
Did feast together, . . .”

Perhaps Shak. does not mean a particular feast, but means feasting generally, such as may have taken place both at Westminster and at Shrewsbury, where in 1397 and 1398 a parliament called the Great Parliament was sitting: and two accounts in Hol. may have been not without influence on this utterance. Hol. says in Vol. II/839: “When the time came that the parliament should be holden at Westminster, the lords repaired thither, furnished with great retinues both of armed men and archers as the *Earl of Northumberland* with his son lord Henry Percy, the lord Thomas Percy the said Earl’s brother”. At Christmas this parliament was adjourned to meet again at Shrewsbury. There “He, (Richard) held also a royal feast keeping open household for all honest comers, during which feast he created five dukes”. (Hol. II/843). It is not unlikely that the poet may mean this feast, although the Earl of Northumberland is not expressly named. But mention is only made of those persons who got new dignities, and among these Northumberland’s brother, Thomas Percy, is named. He was created Earl of Worcester.

We know not what the dramatist exactly means by saying of King Richard and Northumberland, after the remark

above, "and in two years after, they were at wars . ." ll. 59/60. Perhaps the events of 1399 which led to the inglorious abdication of Richard II. are here hinted at, but there existed no war, properly speaking, between the King and the Earl of Northumberland, who was then rather a general of the Duke of Lancaster, and took Flint Castle without striking a blow.

Warwick's words, ll. 102/3:

"To comfort you the more, I have received

A certain instance that Glendower is dead",

are at variance with the chronicle, which does not report the Welshman's death till 1409. For Hol. says III/48: "The Welsh rebel Owen Glendower made an end of his wretched life in this tenth year of King Henry his reign, being driven now in this latter time to such misery, that in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitary caves, where for mere hunger and lack of food miserably pined away and died". — In reality, his death must be put later, although historians seem not to agree about the exact year. — But, as we have seen above, in an excerpt quoted in another connection, the son of Owen Glendower was taken prisoner in that same year in a skirmish at "Husk", and fifteen hundred Welshmen taken and slain. (cf. Hol. III/34 and dis. Act I/3 s. p.). We believe Shak. to have rolled into one these two separate historical facts, which however have this in common, that they are equally fortunate for the English King.

No trace of a plan of Henry's of going to the Holy Land could be found in Hol. under this date. It only occurs there towards the end of Henry's reign in 1413, as we shall see later on. In the play, the introduction of this plan, spoken of at some length in the first part, has again the object of preparing for the last events of this drama. Historically speaking, it is not likely that the King entertained this scheme in his then precarious situation.

Thus Shak. has handled the historical facts he has made use of with the greatest possible freedom.

Scene II.

Before Justice Shallow's house, somewhere in Gloucestershire, we witness the levying of recruits. Of course, the officers who have charge of this business are Falstaff and his captain, Bardolph. Having now learned their practice, we no longer wonder at those ragged regiments we saw before the gates of Coventry.

The excerpt from the chronicle we have quoted in the first part (Act IV., Scene II.) may serve as a foundation for this scene also.

The treatment of the scene is the work of the dramatist, whereas the idea has possibly been taken from the *Fam. Vict.*, where a captain presses John Cobler and Derick.

There are, moreover, some historical allusions in this scene, which, however, we could not verify in Holinshed. We neither found that Falstaff, that is to say Sir John Oldcastle, was in his youth page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, nor that John of Gaunt betted much money on the head of a certain Double who "drew a good bow".

Act IV.

Scenes I. and II.

In these scenes the Archbishop of York's rebellion, which may be considered as the historical centre of the second part of this play, finds its inglorious issue. In Gaultree Forest, in Yorkshire, the two armies have encamped opposite each other. After the rebels have received "new-dated letters from Northumberland" with the cold tenour that the Earl has retired to Scotland, and also news of the strength of their enemies, Westmoreland, dispatched by Prince John of Lancaster, makes his appearance. The royal general succeeds in persuading the rebel leaders to come to a meeting "just distance between their armies."

There a sham peace is made by the Prince, after concluding which the credulous conspirators are treacherously arrested.

Here, more than in any other scene, so it seems to us, Shak. has followed Hol.; even to the extent of paraphrasing individual words and expressions; and yet there are minor deviations enough to be pointed out.

Hol. gives two reports of this event, which took place on the 29th of May, 1405, on a plain within the Forest of Gaultree. According to the one, based on Walsingham, the rebels were perfidiously arrested after they had made peace, in the manner reported by the dramatist. According to the other, the conspirators were persuaded to submit themselves to the mercy of the king and of his son, the Lord John. This, the Archbishop and the Earl-Marshal did, and "returned not to their army. Whereupon their troops scaled and fled their ways." Hol. III/38.

Shak. chiefly follows the first account; but he borrows some details from the other; for the negotiations in the play take place "just distance" between the armies, which is only reported in the second version, "just in the mid-way"; and the much greater part the Prince plays in the drama seems likewise to be more conformable to the second report.

As to the numbers of the two armies, Hol. only states that of the rebels, saying Vol. III/37: "being far stronger in number of people than the other, for there were of the rebels at least twenty thousand men". Shak., on the contrary, here only mentions the number of the royal troops, estimating them at thirty thousand. Thus he seems to invert the proportion given in the chronicle, although this deduction is contradicted again by Mowbray's words, ll. 147/48:

"But he hath forced us to compel this offer;
And it proceeds from policy, not love."

According to these lines, the rebels seem to think themselves still stronger than the royalists, as stated in the chronicle.

In Hol., Westmoreland enters into negotiations with the rebels by dispatching messengers: in the drama, Westmoreland himself comes to the conspirators in the capacity of a mediator from the general, John of Lancaster. In the chronicle, the Archbishop sends the scroll containing his grievances by the returning messengers; in the play, the schedule is given to Westmoreland, when he returns with the Archbishop's promise to come to the proposed meeting.

As already has been said, John of Lancaster is especially named in the second account in Hol., where Westmoreland advises the rebels to submit to the Prince and to his father. But there also, Westmoreland remains the only machinator. Not so in the drama. Here it is the Prince who plays the greatest part; and most words of importance, and all decisions are pronounced by him. Hol., speaking of Westmoreland, says III/37: "When he had read the articles, he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he liked of the Archbishop's holy and vertuous intent and purpose." In the play, Prince John takes upon himself to give a reply concerning these articles, and declares: "I like them all, and do allow them well." (scene II. l. 54). The prince's words in Shak. (scene II. l. 63),

"Let's drink together friendly and embrace",
correspond almost literally with Westmoreland's utterance, "In the mean time, let us drink together in sign of agreement," in Holinshed (III/37).

As to Prince John, who thus usurps in the drama the credit of the stratagem, or, if one prefers, saddles himself with the shame of faithlessness, he was then, in 1405, only 16 years old, having been born in 1389. He may have been at that age a strong, valiant youth, able to keep his ground in battle, but he certainly had not yet the discern-

ment and talents for command which are attributed to him by Shakespeare. If therefore we do not wish to reproach the poet with an unlikelihood, we must charge him with another historical inaccuracy, namely that of making the Prince much older than he was in reality. One way out of the difficulty would perhaps be possible, viz. to consider John to have been instigated by Westmoreland, whose mouth-piece, as it were, he might be called; and the crafty Earl would then add a second stratagem to the first by making the Prince come to the fore in order the better to entrap the Archbishop and his companions. So Shak., by the introduction of the Prince, attained, no doubt, the purpose of rendering the prelate's trust in John of Lancaster's words more credible than his confidence in the promises of a man of inferior rank would have been. But we think that the chief reason why the dramatist makes the Prince take such an active part in this treacherous business, and as such the transaction must be stigmatised, was his intention of contrasting Prince John with Prince Henry. The latter whose chivalrous deeds in the battle of Shrewsbury are painted in such bright colours, would never have lent his name to such perfidy, above all at a time when the laws of chivalry were not yet extinct. If Shak. was glad to find his favourite Prince on the battle-field of Shrewsbury, how much more glad may he have been not to find him in Gaultree Forest.

As for the other persons named by the dramatist on the rebels' side, such as Thomas Mowbray, Earl-Marshal, and Lord Hastings, they are also named in the chronicle; and the poet even follows his authority in calling to mind the old enmity between Mowbray's father and Henry of Lancaster, portrayed in the first scene of Richard II.. But there is perhaps a restriction to be made: Lord Hastings is only named in the chronicle before the events of Gaultree Forest, and after them. We read e. g. Vol. III/38: "At the King's coming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord

Fauconbridge and Sir John Coleville of the Dale and Sir John Griffith, being convicted of the conspiracy, were there beheaded." Whether these lords were also in Gaultree Forest, and fled with their troops to be overtaken later by Fate, we know not. But we may at least say that Lord Hastings was not in the company of the prelate and Mowbray when they went to the fatal meeting, as is represented in the play; for, had he been, he would have been taken prisoner together with them, and not subsequently at Durham. Or could he have been taken about with the King, to be beheaded, not at York as the others were, but only on the King's arrival at Durham?

We did not find any passage in Hol. confirming Westmoreland's remark that Mowbray had been restored "to the seigniories" of his once banished father, who, according to the chronicle, died in exile at Venice in 1399. But we may conclude him to have been among the number of those to whom Henry IV. granted a general pardon mentioned several times in the chronicle.

Mowbray's warning words in the drama, scene I. ll. 183/84:

"There is a thing within my bosom tells me

That no conditions of our peace can stand."

evidently are founded on the passage: "The archbishop gave credit to the Earl of Westmoreland and persuaded the Earl Marshal (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed". Hol. III/37.

Of the royal army, only the Prince and Westmoreland are named by Shak., whereas Hol. mentions in addition the lords Henry Fitzhugh, Rafe Evers and Robert Umfreville.

The conspirators' fate which is intimated in this and the following scene is reported more in detail in Holinshead. The chronicler, who seems not to approve of the manner in which the conspiracy was suppressed, tells us III/38: "They were beheaded the morrow after Whitsunday in a place without the city of York, that is to understand, the Archbishop himself, the Earl-Marshal, Sir John

Lampley and Sir Robert Plumpton". The two latter do not occur in the play and seem to have participated in the parley instead of Lord Hastings. "The Archbishop", so the chronicler continues, "suffered death very constantly, inso-much as the common people took it he died a martyr, affirming that certain miracles were wrought as well in the field, where he was executed, as also in the place, where he was buried". Hol. III/38.

"A prophecy of a sickly canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire, which fell out to be true", as Hol. says, may close these considerations:

*"Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subter arabunt
Pro nulla marca, saluabitur ille hierarcha".*

Scene III.

In another part of the forest we see the gigantic bulk of Sir John emerge from the crowd of pursuing and pursued, holding at the point of his sword Coleville of the Dale. The latter, probably as much afraid of being crushed by the fall of that moving mountain, had he killed him, as of being slain by his sword, evades this dilemma by surrendering. The rotund hero, applying the words "of the hook-nosed fellow of Rome", "I came, saw and overcame", to himself, delivers his prisoner to Prince John. Then the proud victor craves Lancaster's recommendation at court in the words:

"Stand my good lord, pray, in your good report."
After having given vent in a monologue to some very enthusiastic words in praise of spirituous liquors, — the most original and witty praise perhaps that ever has been bestowed on them — he at length, with his captain Bardolph, leaves the scene of his exploit.

What we have said about Lord Hastings in the previous scene, applies also to Coleville of the Dale. He, according to Hol., was not taken prisoner in Gaultree Forest, but only after reaching Durham, a town more than 90 km.

north of York; and was beheaded there, and not at York as the Prince says here, ll. 70/71:

“Send Coleville with his confederates

To York, to present execution”.

Lancaster's words: “Now, have you left pursuit?” may be backed by Hol.'s account III/38: “Whereupon their troops scaled and fled their ways, but being pursued, many were taken, many slain and many spoiled of that that they had about them”.

We only can repeat that the allusions to the King's sickness, and such occur also in this scene, are unhistorical or at least predated.

As to Falstaff's allusions to Prince John's character, temperance and habits of life, we believe them to be mere inventions of the dramatist; and nothing similar could be discovered in Holinshed. But the funny exaggerations of the fat knight harmonize very well with Lancaster's conduct in Gaultree Forest; and such a sober-blooded boy, who drinks no wine, and whom no man can make laugh, may rather be thought a crafty diplomatist than a generous valiant warrior. John, the third son of Henry IV., was born in 1389. In 1414, his brother, Henry V., created him Duke of Bedford (Hol. III/67); and in 1417, during the French war, “he was made governor or regent of the realm to hold and enjoy the office so long as the King was occupied in France”. (Hol. III/88).

Blunt, perhaps the son of Sir Walter Blunt who fell at Shrewsbury, could not be discovered in the reign of Henry IV..

In the Fam. Vict. a scene occurs where Derick is taken prisoner by a Frenchman, whom however he finally outwits. It may be that Shak. took the idea from there, although such an incident in a battle is so natural that one need not suppose any influence.

Scenes IV. and V.

In these scenes Henry IV.'s death is represented, which took place on the 20th of March 1413. At the beginning

of the fourth scene, the King with his two sons, Thomas and Humphrey, and other persons of rank, is at Westminster, in the Jerusalem Chamber. He speaks about his preparations for the long planned crusade, inquires after his eldest son, and, taking this opportunity, gives Thomas instructions how to treat the Prince of Wales. Then, on hearing various items of good news, such as the repression of the Archbishop's revolt and the overthrow of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph, the King is on a sudden attacked by a fit of apoplexy. After he has recovered a little, he is carried at his request into another room, where he orders his crown to be brought and laid upon his pillow. Then the Prince of Wales enters; and, seeing the King asleep, offers to sit and watch by him. After all have left the room, he regards his father more closely. As a feather "lying by the gates of breath" does not move, he believes him dead; he then apostrophizes the crown with sad reflexions; and, his eye full of tears, leaves the room with the diadem, that "polished perturbation, golden care". But the King soon awakes, misses his crown, and calls his sons and Warwick. Harry is at once suspected of having taken it away, and the dying King gives orders to "chide him hither". The Prince comes back, and a serious conversation takes place, in the course of which he succeeds in convincing his father of the injustice of his accusations. Now that the King knows his son not to be waiting impatiently for his death, the last shade of discord that might still exist between them disappears. After the monarch has unbosomed himself to Harry, and given him his best counsels for his future reign, Prince John of Lancaster enters soon enough to find his dying father still alive. Now all assemble round Henry, who, on hearing that the room where he first swooned was called Jerusalem, orders himself to be borne there again, that an old prophecy might be fulfilled to the effect that "he should not die but in Jerusalem."

Shak. in dramatizing the end of Henry IV. in scenes of powerful effect, generally closely follows Holinshed. In the crown-scene, at least, there are no great deviations to be noticed; certain words even, as "garland" (= crown), "laud be given", are taken verbatim from the chronicle. On looking however to details, we see that the dramatist here too allows himself, as usual, the greatest liberty; and coincidence of play and history cannot be expected.

But before we compare the dramatic with the historical dates and facts, something is to be said about the composition of the scenes themselves.

Considering the stage-directions for these scenes, we find that most editors give: "Westminster; the Jerusalem Chamber." Schlegel-Tieck has "Westminster, a room in the palace."; Theobald, "The Palace at Westminster."; the first folio has only "Scaena Secunda."; the edition of Clark and Wright has "Westminster. The Jerusalem Chamber.", which seems to be also the direction of the quartos. We know not whether all the contemporaries of Shak., when they saw such a stage-direction as "Westminster, the Jerusalem Chamber." painted on a board, understood how to take it. For although in the time of Shak. the old palace of Westminster had been disused as a royal residence since the great fire of 1512, yet in the time of Henry IV. it was still inhabited. Those who knew these circumstances were most at a loss; for the situation could only be quite clear to them, if they knew also that the Jerusalem Chamber was not in the palace at Westminster, but in Westminster Abbey. The others, thinking the royal residence in the time of Henry IV. to be where it was in 1600, namely at Whitehall — reconstructed by Henry VIII., who made it his principal residence — were more likely to suppose the King not to be in his own palace. However, if they did not all see this stage-direction, or forgot it for a moment, they could not but believe the scene to represent a room in the King's own palace. For how can the spectator suppose the King to be in any

other room but in a chamber in his palace, when he sees him hold, as it were, a council? He is surrounded by his sons and by the court; Westmoreland and Harcourt with their messages come there quite naturally, not wondering to see the monarch in an unusual place. The Prince of Wales, seeking his brother, enters with the question: "Who saw the Duke of Clarence", and hopes, no doubt, to find him in his father's palace. Moreover, the crown, which even at that time kings did not always carry about with them, and the musicians are at hand; and the King and his whole court seem to consider themselves quite at home. Nor do the words of the speakers give the least hint of an unusual place, until at last the King's utterance, ll. 233/34:

"Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?",

seems to be a distinct indication of the fact. For ought he not to know the name of the room, if it were in his own palace? We do not think so. Had Henry been a legitimate King, bred in London, in those palaces with their old traditions, we could perhaps demand it of him, although the extent of the royal palaces, and the great number of them in the country might even then excuse a slip of memory, especially in case of sickness. But Henry was a usurper, and if he was now master of these piles, he had probably entered them with his own household and his own domestics, who knew the history of single apartments as little as he himself. We therefore believe the place not to have been indicated clearly enough by the poet, and the spectators to be quite unable to conclude, from the words alone, that the King is supposed to be in the house of the Abbot of Westminster. — The best way out of this difficulty would be to suppose the scene to take place in the King's palace, as most editors have done, and as in fact fits the action best, and to charge the poet with a deviation from his source.

But the scenes contain also some improbabilities, and we believe Henry's question about the chamber, cited above, to be one of them, considering the connection in which it is uttered. We do not see the necessity of such a question. We think it too trivial for a dying king, who has just before spoken about a new and dangerous expedition, who has so recently heard the good news concerning his English affairs, who has been sorely offended by the Prince's seeming want of tact, and has just been reconciled to him, and given him his best counsels. If a person swoons in the street or in a public building, and is carried in that state into a neighbouring house, we not only think a similar question natural, but even expect it from him as the very first words he utters. Such a question would, then, be quite natural had the King recovered in an entirely unknown place from a fit which befell him in a familiar one, as the circumstance is represented in *Holinshed*. But Henry swoons in a chamber in which he has conversed a long time with his sons and his ambassadors; and he inquires its name, not when he comes to himself, but only when he has been for a good while in another room, which, strange to say, does not attract his attention. Nor do we see the necessity for the King's being borne from the Jerusalem Chamber into another room, only to be carried back again after the discovery of its name. This moving about of a dying man is not likely. However, Shak. perhaps did not wish to represent the King's very last moments, but intended to let him carry out symbolically the expedition to Jerusalem, which, according to the drama, had been the first and the last plan of his reign. For it was not the voyage from England to the Holy Land, that he made, but a little journey from one room to another, called the Jerusalem Chamber, to die there, and so to fulfil the prophecy which had been made to him long ago.

Hol., whom we should like to cite at once here in reference to this prophecy, says III/58: "Whether this was true that so he spake as one that gave too much credit to

foolish prophecies and vain tales, or whether it was feigned, as in such cases it commonly happeneth, we leave it to the advised reader to judge." The following view appears to us to fit the drama best. It must be supposed that the prophecy was made to the King at some time or other, but forgotten by him till, on hearing in his last moments the name of the chamber, it comes back to his mind again. For otherwise, he would scarcely have been so eager for an expedition to a place where he was fated to die. As a matter of historical fact, we believe this prophecy to be a fiction, based upon the name of the room where the King happened to breathe his last.

Speaking of his expedition to the Holy Sepulchre, the King says ll. 3/8:

"We will our youth lead on to higher fields . . .

Only, we want a little personal strength;"

and a few lines later on, complaining of his eldest son, he remarks:

"therefore my grief

Stretches itself beyond the hour of death . . ."

These latter words would not strike us, had the King uttered them after his fit, but as they follow the first remark, we think them to contrast too much with it. But Shak., with an art too difficult to be entirely understood, perhaps intentionally represents the King's mind as being occupied simultaneously by thoughts of approaching death and by far-reaching worldly schemes, a combination which may not seldom be observed in common life. So far, the scenes themselves.

If we think we have indicated some irregularities in their composition, we are at the same time convinced that these are more than compensated for by the great dramatic effect of the representation given by the poet. We even believe that this great efficacy could only be attained by neglecting the strict logical order of the action; as may easily be seen, if we imagine these scenes changed to accord with the historical account of Holinshed.

We saw in the previous scene the last events of Gaultree Forest, and witness here the death of Henry IV., the dramatist, that is, calls upon us suddenly to over-leap with him a space of eight years. Only the mention of Northumberland's overthrow may be considered as a point of support to facilitate the jump.

Shak. in these scenes welds together events which in reality are separated by intervals of five and eight years. The suppression of the Archbishop's revolt is immediately followed by the defeat of old Percy, and the King's death happens shortly after these events, whereas the historical dates are: 1405 for the first event, 1408 for the battle of Bramham Moor, and 1413 for the decease of Henry IV. .

As to the King's death, Hol. gives several reports, of which the one, relating the Prince's taking possession of the crown, is based on Hall (page 45 in Hall's chronicle), the other, leaving out that incident, and emphasizing more the place where he died, the cause that led him there, and the prophecy spoken of in Shak., on Fabian. Shak. has made use of both accounts, welding their facts together, which may have caused the discrepancies mentioned above. Therefore the comparison of these scenes with Hol. is especially interesting and instructive, because it not only shows us the poet's method of writing, but also leads us to the origin of each unlikelihood and deviation from history. For instance, if in the play, we believe the King to be in his own palace, we, when reading Hall's report, have quite the same impression, and the last short remark, proving that also this historian makes him die in the abbot's house, halts so far behind that one might well think it interpolated.

We will now quote the passages referring to the King's death themselves. Hol. (Fabian) writes III/58 "We find that he was taken with his last sickness, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edward's shrine, there, as it were to take leave . . . He was so suddenly and grievously taken that such as were about him feared lest he would have

died presently, wherefore to relieve him, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire and used all remedies to revive him. At length, he recovered his speech and understanding and perceiving himself in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answer was made that it was called Jerusalem. 'Then', said the King, 'lauds be given to the father of heaven, for now I know that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophecy of me declared that I should depart this life in Jerusalem.'"

The other report in the chronicle, based on Hall, (Hol. III/57) runs thus: "During his last sickness, he caused his crown to be set on a pillow at his bed's head, and suddenly his pangs so sore troubled him that he lay as though his vital spirits had been from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verily that he had been departed, covered his face with a linnen cloth. The prince, his son, being hereof advertised, entered into the chamber, took away the crown and departed. The father being suddenly revived out of that trance, quickly perceived the lack of his crown; and having knowledge that the prince, his son, had taken it away, caused him to come before his presence, requiring of him what he meant so to misuse himself. The prince with a good audacity answered: 'Sir, to mine and all men's judgements you seemed dead in this world, wherefore I as your next heir apparent took that as mine own and not as yours'. 'Well fair son', said the King with a great sigh, 'what right I had to it, God knoweth'. 'Well', said the prince, 'if you die King, I will have the garland and trust to keep it with the sword against all mine enemies, as you have done.' 'Then', said the King, 'I commit all to God and remember you to do well'. With that he turned himself in his bed, and shortly after departed to God, in a chamber of the abbat's of Westminster called Jerusalem".

Comparing these two reports as a whole with the drama, we see that the chronicler distinctly indicates the place where the King was attacked by the fit of apoplexy, and especially states the reason why he was there. In *Hol.*, he has just said his prayers at Saint Edward's shrine; in *Shak.*, we not only do not know that he has been in the church, we cannot even guess that he is in the abbot's house. All is left indistinct in the drama, all is clear in the chronicle, where the King's question about the name of the chamber does not appear strange at all.

If we compare these two reports separately with the play, we easily see that *Shak.* has principally followed Hall's statements, whose interesting details, no doubt, attracted the poet more than Fabian's account. That the vagueness of place also seems to have its cause in Hall, we have already intimated.

On Hall then are based nearly all the chief facts, such as the crown incident and the ensuing conversation between father and son; and *Shak.* has recourse to Fabian only in so far as he takes from him the King's question about the chamber and the prophecy connected with it, which is not in Hall.

As to the monarch's words about the expedition to the Holy Land, this time they may be considered to be historical, for at that time, in 1413, an expedition to Palestine was in fact prepared. *Hol.* says III/57: "In this fourteenth and last year of King Henry's reign, a council was holden in the white friars in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made ready for a voyage which he meant to make into the Holy Land there to recover the City of Jerusalem from the Infidels".

The close connection represented by the dramatist as existing between this crusade and Henry's death is historical too: "For now that his provisions were ready, and that he was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers and things necessary

for such a royal journey as he pretended to take into the Holy Land, he was eftsoons taken with a sore sickness . . .” (Hol. III/57); and, according to Fabian in Hol. (III/58), the monarch was even upon the point of departing when he was surprised by death: “He was taken with his last sickness, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edward’s shrine, there as it wère to take his leave and so to proceed forth on his journey”.

In stating the reasons however for that crusade, the play and the chronicle differ widely. In the drama, it is again the diplomatist who

“has a purpose now
To lead out many to the Holy Land,
Lest rest and lying still might make them look
To near unto his state”.

In the chronicle the motives are not so selfish: “For it grieved him to consider the great malice of Christian princes that were bent upon a mischievous purpose to destroy one another, to the peril of their own souls, rather than to make war against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience they were bound” (Hol. III/57). Whether the King really thought thus, we dare not decide; but we consider the reasons given by Shak. to be very plausible as they occur in the drama. Kabel supposes this passage to be partly derived from Daniel’s Civil Wars.

Henry’s self-accusation and the Prince’s courageous answer, in the play, are the poetic transmutation of Hall’s account, quoted above, and the old play; and furthermore present a rare example of the affinity between our drama and its chief sources.

As to the persons who attend on the King at the beginning of these scenes and, later, gather round his death-bed, none is explicitly named by the chronicler except the Prince of Wales. But it is possible that all may have been present, especially his sons, save Thomas, Duke of Clarence, whom the King, in the play, advises how to treat his eldest

brother. Thomas, as Shak. could have seen in the chronicle, was at that time in France; for we read in Vol. III/58: "The Duke of Clarence immediately upon knowledge of his father, King Henry, his death returned out of Guien into England". That he was Prince Henry's favourite brother, we could not find in the chronicle.

As Henry's death happened in 1413, eight years after the events in Gaultree Forest and five after the battle of Bramham Moor, the messages of Westmoreland and Harcourt have been postdated by as many years. But these messages are also unhistorical in another respect. The King did not need to be told of the issue of the revolt of 1405; for it was he himself who at Pomfret took possession of the exalted prisoners, he who signed their death-warrants, he who "ransomed and punished by grievous fines the citizens of York who had borne armour on their bishop's side against him" (Hol. III/38). Nor was Henry IV. informed in London of the victory of Bramham Moor, where "*Stirps Persitina periit confusa ruina.*", and where the old Earl was rewarded for his want of energy in former times, and defeated by Rafe Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire. The latter (Rafe) anticipated his King, who, marching with a great army to meet Northumberland and Lord Bardolph, had not yet advanced as far as Nottingham when the battle took place "the nineteenth day of February" 1408 (Hol. III/45).

It would lead us too far to enumerate all the differences between the play and the chronicle in these scenes. Moreover, many of them are too insignificant; and the action is not much altered if in the drama the Prince enters by accident, whereas he is advertised of his father's fit in the chronicle; if in Hol. the King's face is covered with a linen cloth, and in the play a feather is "by the gates of breath"; if in the chronicle all bystanders believe the monarch dead, whereas in the drama Harry, watching alone by his bed, is the first who thinks so.

Nor would it be worth while to scrutinize incidental remarks too closely. We should only like to state that

Clarence's words: "The river hath thrice flow'd, no ebb between." correspond to a passage in Hol. III/55 running thus: "In this year (1412), and upon the twelfth day of October, were three floods in the Thames, the one following upon the other and no ebbing between, which thing no man then living could remember the like to be seen." The conformity of the words is here interesting, Shak. having "no ebb between", and Hol. "no ebbing between".

Besides the chronicle, Shak. in these two scenes, as said above, has had recourse to the Fam. Vict. in which he found the chief incidents recorded. It seems to us that he has paid more attention to it here than elsewhere; and, in one case at least, even adhered to its wording, the Fam. Vict. having:

*"Dost thou think the time so long
That thou wouldst have it before the
Breath be out of my mouth?"*

and Shakespeare:

"Dost thou so hunger for mine empty chair

That thou wilt needs invest thee with mine honours?",
whereas the coincident words of the passage in the Fam. Vict.:

"For God knoweth my son, how hardly I came by it."
and Shakespeare's:

*"God knows, my son,
By what by-paths and indirect crooked ways
I met this crown";*

may have been directly derived by both from Holinshed's:

*"Well fair son, what right I had to it
God knoweth".*

Act V.

Scene I.

In the mean time the corpulent hero of Gaultree Forest has arrived at Shallow's seat in Gloucestershire with the intention of fleecing the doting old fool. We see the justice with his guests in a room in his house, urging Falstaff to remain

with him, and settling at the same time all kinds of household affairs. After having made up the bill of fare with his factotum, Davy, and promised to countenance the latter's friend, although he is "an arrant knave", he leaves Falstaff alone. The fat jester, now at his best, succeeds in making his host ridiculous, from whom he will not only borrow money, but out of whom he will also "devise matter enough to keep Prince Harry in continual laughter the wearing out of six fashions, which is four terms or two actions".

There is nothing traceable to Holinshed.

Scene II.

In the palace at Westminster. The Lord Chief Justice meeting Warwick learns from him of the death of Henry IV. . The new King's brothers, "the heavy issue of dead Harry", and other persons of rank soon enter. All are sad, not so much at the King's death, as at the future that impends over them. They expect nothing good from the young monarch, and the Chief Justice, who, as we know, once inflicted severe punishment upon his present lord, prepares himself for the worst. But their fears prove groundless; for the great and wonderful metamorphosis has already taken place, and King Henry V. enters, not only with "his new and gorgeous garment, majesty", but also in his new serious character,

"To mock the expectation of the world,
To frustrate prophecies and to raze out
Rotten opinion,.." (II. 126/28).

So the young King addresses his brothers kindly, and promises them to be their father now and to bear their cares. Not so friendly are the first words he addresses to the Lord Chief Justice; and his question:

"How might a prince of my great hopes forget
So great indignities you laid upon me?",
make us uneasy about the fate of the righteous and intrepid judge. When, however, the latter with eloquent words has

proved the justice of his former severity, the King forsakes the old grudge he has borne him until now, commits to him anew "the unstained sword that he used to bear", says he shall be a father to his youth, and promises to give him the foremost hand among the noble members whom he is about to choose for his "high court of parliament".

No such meeting of the court soon after the old King's death is reported in Hol., nor can the least fear in the persons who are about the young monarch be discovered in the chronicle. It says, on the contrary, III/61: "Such great hope and good expectation was had of this man's fortunate success to follow, that within three days after his father's decease, diverse noble men and honorable personages did him homage and sware to him due obedience, which had not been seen done to any of his predecessors kings of this realm".

This great change of disposition however, prepared for in the whole play since the very first appearance of the Prince, is also the first fact in this scene which we can support from Hol., who says III/61: "But this King even at first appointing with himself to shew that in his person princely honours should change public manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man".

The King's words II. 135/37:

"And let us choose such limbs of noble counsel,

That the great body of our state may go

In equal rank with the best govern'd nation;"

may find their support in the chronicler's account, III/61: "He chose men of gravity, wit and high policy, by whose wise counsel he might at all times rule to his honour and dignity".

The fact of the Prince's imprisonment for his ill behaviour, which is spoken of in detail in this scene, is only reported in a few words in the chronicle: "The King called to mind how once to high offence of the King his father, he had with his fist stricken the chief justice for sending

one of his minions (upon desert) to prison, when the justice stoutly commanded himself also straight to ward, and he (then prince) obeyed.” (Hol. III/61).

Hol. saying nothing more about this event, all the details in the play must have been taken from another authority. The words of Henry IV. quoted by his son, ll. 108—12:

‘Happy am I, that have a man so bold,
That dares do justice on my proper son,
And not less happy, having such a son,
That would deliver up his greatness so
Into the hands of justice.’

can, according to Boswell-Stone, be verified from Sir Thomas Elyot’s “Governor”, from which Stow copied. The passage is as follows: “O merciful God, how much am I above all other men bound to your infinite goodness! specially for that ye have given me a judge who feareth not to minstre justice and also a son who can suffer semblably and obey justice.” (cf. Bosw.-Stone, page 163). The beginning of the Chief Justice’s speech:

“I then did use the person of your father;

The image of his power lay then in me:...” ll. 73/74 seems to be the poetical paraphrase of a passage in the corresponding trial-scene in the “Famous Victories”, which runs thus: “In striking me in this place you greatly abuse me, and not me only, but also your father, whose lively person here in this place I do represent.” (Shak. Library page 336).

But in the most interesting incident of this scene, the reconciliation of the young monarch with his former chastiser, Shak not only does not follow Hol., but he again reports the contrary of what the chronicler says. For we read in Vol. III/61: “The King after expelled him out of his privy council, banished him the court, and made the Duke of Clarence (his younger brother) president of council in his stead”. The dramatist, in thus representing Henry as “washing in Lethe” former “indignities”, as forgiving the Lord Chief Justice and making him his friend, has again

followed the "Famous Victories" in order to make his favourite achieve, and that not by halves, his greatest deed, a victory over himself. For it was not sufficient for him to inter old "affections": the grudge he bore the man who had punished him for them was to be annihilated too.

Nor could the young monarch's kindness to his brothers be verified from the chronicle, unless the nomination of Clarence spoken of above, or his creating John Duke of Bedford and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, may be called a verification (cf. Hol. III/67). This promotion took place during the parliament of 1414. But Shak. could have mentioned a noble trait of character in Henry V. which has the advantage of being emphatically reported in the chronicle III/64: "Henry Percy, then but a child, son to the lord Henry Percy surnamed Hotspur, after his father's decease was conveyed into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather, where ever since he had remained: the King therefore pitied his case, and so procured for him that he came home and was restored to all his lands and earldom of Northumberland, which lands before had been given to the Lord John, the King's brother". This act of grace was even performed to the prejudice of his own brother. To decide whether it was pity alone that moved the King, or policy mixed with this virtue, is the task of History. (Henry V. was then about to sail to France, and acted wisely in reconciling himself to a youth who might have tried to reconquer his former possessions with the aid of the Scots. This generosity indeed actually proved useful in the sequel to the House of Lancaster; for, in the Wars of the Roses, the Earl of Northumberland fought on the King's side).

There is yet another discrepancy, an anachronism, to be noticed: The King, when comforting his brothers and trying to allay their fears, says, ll. 48/49:

"This is the English not the Turkish court;
Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds," ..

According to a note in Delius, Shak. alludes here to an

event of his own time. In 1596 Amurath III. was succeeded by his son Mahomed, who after his accession to the throne caused his brothers to be strangled. The poet changes the name of Mahomed into Amurath in order to render more perfect the comparison between the Turkish and the English court, where a "Harry" succeeds a "Harry". This remark includes a "*terminus ante quem non*" for the second part of Henry IV..

Scene III.

Sir John is still the guest of Shallow, and we see the company walking in the orchard, the proud proprietor of which wishes to show them his property. They soon take their seats in an arbour, and continue carousing, singing and joking until Pistol appears, who, after having discharged many cartridges of preliminary bombast, fires off at length the news of the old King's death. Falstaff, who now thinks he is "Fortune's steward" and promises dignities to all, takes leave at once; orders his poor horse to be saddled — he "foundered nine score and odd posts" between London and Gaultree Forest —; and starts in order to "cure" the young King, whom he believes "sick for him", as soon as possible.

This scene contains nothing traceable to Hol., whereas in the *Fam. Vict.* the young monarch's former companions entertain similar hopes.

Scene IV.

Of the company frequenting the Boar's-Head Tavern, Doll Tearsheet is the first whom Fate overtakes. We see her and her protectress in a London street, striving in vain to escape from the hands of the beadles who have come to arrest her on account of a scuffle in which "a man or two were killed about her".

There is not anything in this scene either, which could be supported by an excerpt from the chronicle.

We do not know whether an allusion to the death of Christopher Marlowe (1564—93) may be seen in this passage, as Brandl thinks. Marlowe was killed in a tavern quarrel at Deptford.

Scene V.

In a public place, near Westminster Abbey, Falstaff, Shallow and their followers are waiting not only for the royal procession after the coronation, but also for the shower of grace that is to rain down upon them from the hands of the new-anointed monarch. When the cavalcade approaches, Falstaff stops it and addresses Henry. But instead of earning favour and dignities, he is rebuked by the King, and he and his comrades are banished from the court on pain of death until their reformation is proved. Falstaff cannot but deem such a treatment a pretence, for, as he says, "the King must seem thus to the world". Soon, however, Prince John and the Lord Chief Justice return with officers, whom the latter orders to carry Sir John to the Fleet. Prince John "likes this fair proceeding of the King's" of getting rid of his "wonted", and one might also say wanton, followers; and the drama ends with the Prince's mention of the convocation of parliament by the new King and his allusions to the impending French war.

As to the composition of this scene, dramatic as it may be, we think that the likelihood of the incidents, as represented, may be called in question. We believe the audacity of disturbing a royal coronation-procession, even if the culprit had imbibed several bottles of sack, to be scarcely credible, an improbability which seems to involve a second one, namely the very severe punishment of a man who had been so familiar and so intimate with the King in former days. We will however admit both Falstaff's and the King's behaviour not to be so very unnatural; but we cannot see the necessity of the knight's being carried to the Fleet. This order, spoken indeed by the Lord Chief Justice, but which, although it is not explicitly stated, we must suppose to have been given by the King, cannot well be understood; the more, because it proceeds from a man, who a short time before has been so extraordinarily forgiving, and is uttered by a person who has just experienced the benefits of pardon. Was the banishment

not punishment enough? Is the King's promise to allow his former companions means enough for "competence of life" compatible with the severity of this second blow which falls on Falstaff alone?

But we shall try to give a reason for this second punishment, for this *dénouement* which seems to strike a discord in us. Falstaff does not, and cannot believe in the first measures of his royal Hal, and thinks the King's words to be "a colour". Therefore, it was necessary to give him a more palpable stroke which no longer admitted of misinterpretation. Perhaps this chastisement may also be considered as a tragic fulfilment of the fat knight's hope: "I shall be sent for soon at night", — he means that the King will give him private audience --; for now he is indeed sent for, but not to see the bright palace, and to hear his gracious King, but to gaze at dark prison-walls and to hear perhaps the faint groans of "his Doll, the Helen of his noble thoughts" in a neighbouring cell.

The last words of the Prince, alluding to the French war, are, so it appears to us, too vague and unprepared, and ought to have been substantiated by alleging some reasons for them. They, of course, are to be considered as a link connecting this historical play with the next one.

If we compare the events of this scene with Hol., we are not astonished to find nothing in the latter resembling a disturbance of the coronation procession, beyond that caused by the elements. For, "Henry V. was crowned the ninth of April, being Passion sunday, which was a sore ruggy and tempestuous day, with wind, snow and sleet that men greatly marvelled thereat, making diverse interpretations, what the same might signify." (Hol. III/61). — Probably the weather is to be supposed very mild and especially "dry" on the stage, for, otherwise, Sir John would not have been induced to leave his "sack" in the Boar's Head Tavern, because he would have come in contact with a thin, wet liquid which, as we know, he hated still more than he loved banquets, honours and dignities.

The King's turning off his old comrades, and banishing them, but not without affording them means to live, is traceable to Hol., who writes, III/51: "Whereas aforetime he had made himself a companion unto misruly mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not unrewarded or else unpreferred) inhibiting them upon a great pain not once to approach, lodge or sojourn within ten miles of his court or presence". In the play, the preferment is more naturally promised only upon their reformation, which is not taken into consideration in the chronicle.

Lancaster's words, l. 104: "The King has called his parliament, my lord.", can be supported by the chronicle, in which we read, III/62: "Immediately after Easter he called a parliament, in which diverse good statutes were devised and established for the preservation and advancement of the commonwealth". The Prince continues, ll. 106—8:

"I will lay odds that, ere this year expire,
We bear our civil swords and native fire
As far as France."

The tenour of these verses refers to the chief historical event of Henry V.'s reign, to the French war, which forms also the kernel of Shak.'s next historical drama, *King Henry V.*

These words, as they occur here, might make us believe that this war with France immediately followed the accession of Henry V.. The French expedition was however not undertaken before 1415: for we read in Hol., III/72: "When the wind came about prosperous to his purpose, he caused the mariners to weigh up anchors, and to set forward with a thousand ships, on the vigil of our Lady day, the Assumption, the first of July, 1415, and took land at Caur." Thus more than two years elapsed between the coronation and Henry's landing at the mouth of the Seine.

As for the relation of this scene to the *Fam. Vict.*, we observe that the chief points, Falstaff's addressing the King and his banishment, are similarly treated in the old play. The

greatest deviation is the fact that the King, in the latter, is not nearly so severe as in Shakespeare.

Epilogue

The epilogue to the second part of Henry IV., spoken by a dancer, cannot well be passed over in silence, because the names of Falstaff and of Oldcastle are mentioned, the latter of whom occupies a pretty large space in Holinshed. Sir John Oldcastle is the name of one of the Prince's mates in the "Famous Victories", who in his appearance seems to have corresponded to Sir John Falstaff in our play. Now, the Puritan movement had already begun, and its adherents were bitterly hostile to the stage. The author of the old play had been accused of having introduced this character with the object of ridiculing them. The same accusation was therefore also raised against our poet, so much the more as he had retained at first the old name of Oldcastle, a bearer of which was actually a lollard of the time of Henry V.. In order to meet this reproach, which might have injured him, Shak. not only changed the name of Oldcastle into Falstaff, but thought it even necessary to emphasize in an epilogue that these two persons were not the same.

According to the dissertation of Wilhelm Baeske "Oldcastle-Falstaff", Shak.'s Falstaff is indeed this same Sir John Oldcastle, distorted however both by the adherents of the old church and the followers of the new religion. But it is apparent that Shak. did not care for, nor mean, the historical person, with whom he might in some measure have become acquainted in perusing Holinshed. He simply recklessly took over, at first name and all, a character in the Fam. Vict. made up of several types, of which the "miles gloriosus" is one, increasing its belly and still more its wit. In spite of all protestations, however, Shak. had perhaps nevertheless intended to deride, and thus combat, a sect which had become a danger to his very livelihood. — He could later say in good faith that

his Falstaff was not the historical Oldcastle, whom he calls a martyr; for he certainly knew the protestants of 1400 to be very different from the stern puritans of the 17th century, and evidently honoured the former — as the title “martyr” proves — as much as he hated the latter.

Now, no personage in Shak.’s plays gave such an opportunity for dealing blows to this sect as Falstaff, and it would be strange had Shak. not availed himself of it. So he makes the fat knight utter words and expressions which we cannot but interpret as a derision of puritanism, expressions which, to be sure, sound strange in the mouth of the fat sensual gentleman. Falstaff speaks, for instance, of *the fiend*, of *the wicked*, of *hell-fire*, of *burning poor souls*, of *howling*; he says “there is a good *angel* about the boy, but the *devil* outbids him too”; he owes the hostess money, whether she be *damned* for that, he knows not; “Dost thou hear, Hal? thou knowest in the state of *innocency* Adam fell, and what should *poor* Jack do in *the days of villany*? Thou seest I have more flesh than another man and therefore more *frailty*.” *Dives* that *lived in purple* appears too! But the whole passage in the sec. part. II/4 ll. 300—329, in which several of the above expressions occur, seems to us to be the best proof.

As for the Fam. Vict., save the passage:

“He is a good old man, God take him to his mercy the sooner.”,

wecould not find any which might be explained in that direction. We may therefore suppose an elimination of nearly all offensive expressions in the edition handed down to us (cf. preface).

As to the Sir John Oldcastle spoken of in Hol., he, a “valiant captain and a hardy gentleman”, “by his wife called Lord Cobham”, was accused of heresy. Henry V. having compassion for a man who “was highly in his favour”, tried all means of persuasion to “reconcile him to God and to his laws”. But his exhortations being in vain, he delivered him to the clergy, who after a rigorous trial sent him to

the Tower. From there he escaped into Wales, and seems to have had a hand in a conspiracy, which however was suppressed at once by the King's prompt action. A price was now set upon Oldcastle's head. But, high as the sum was, he could not be taken at first. At length, not before 1418, Cobham was arrested on the borders of Wales, sent to London, and finally burnt in Saint Giles' Field. (cf. Hol. III. pages 62, 63, 91 & 94.)

As to the name of Falstaff, which Shak. chose to replace that of Oldcastle, we know not whence the poet took it. Suchier in his *French Literature*, on page 296, speaking of "*Le Mystère du siège d'Orléans*" says: "In this work also John Falstaff (properly Fastolf) occurs, a worthy man and valiant knight. Shak. was the first who turned into ridicule, we know not why, the man who caused 'Tignonville's Apophthegms' to be translated into English." We are not sure that this remark is quite right. In the present French edition of the "*Mystère du siège d'Orléans, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique conservé à la bibliothèque du Vatican par M.M. F. Guessard et E. de Certain, Paris 1862*", the spelling either of Falstaff or of Fastolf could nowhere be discovered, but only the three readings Facestot, Facetot and Fastot, which names we think to be corruptions of the right one, Fastolfe. But Suchier could have seen in Shak.'s first part of *Henry VI.* that a certain Sir John Fastolfe figures there, who does not play at all a ridiculous part, and whom we find again in Hol. III/162, in the French war, at the time of the siege of Orleans: "After this fortunate victory, Sir John Fastolfe and his company . . . marched forth and came to the English camp before Orleance, where they were joyfully received for their valiancy and worthy prowess shewed in the battle." We need then not connect the historical Messire Jehan Facestot, Facetot or Fastot in the "*Mystère*" with the legendary or distorted Sir John Falstaff-Oldcastle in *Henry IV.* if we have an historical Sir John Fastolfe in *Henry VI.* who

like Messire Jehan fights before Orleans. No, the fat knight has nothing to do either with the Jehan Facestot in the *Mystère* or with the Sir John Fastolfe in Henry VI., who are identical. Only the family name of the stout Sir John has been framed upon that of the valiant knight of 1429, and Suchier seems only in so far to be right as Sir John Fastolfe may complain that his name should not have been changed more.

But we will try to explain how the poet may have been brought to offend the manes of Sir John Fastolfe. Most of the Shakespearian persons have very significant names, which give a hint of their characters or of their professions. So we find in our play names such as "Pistol"; "Mistress Quickly", the hostess; the country justices "Shallow" and "Silence"; the sheriff's officers "Fang" and "Snare". — We gave in I/1 of the sec. part an explanation of the names "Travers" and "Morton". — Therefore it would have been strange, had Shak. not given a characteristic name to that person who had the best claim to one, especially now that he was forced to seek a substitute for Oldcastle. He needed not to seek long, for a play of his own contained a name which, by the shifting of only one letter and by the changing of an "o" into an "a", could be transformed into a significant one. It was the name of Sir John Fastolfe in Henry VI., who perhaps moreover struck the eye of the dramatist by having the same title, Sir, and the same Christian name, John, as Sir John Oldcastle. So "Fastolfe" became perhaps Falstaff; (Qq. Falstaffe, Q 2 Falstalfe) and Falstaff would be nothing but a "false staff", which the corpulent knight indeed proved to be for the young prince, who did not need a false but a true and right staff for his youth to lean upon. The last words which the King addresses to the "false staff" of his youth, seem not to contradict this explanation: II. 61—65

"When thou dost hear I am as I have been,
Approach me, and thou shalt be as thou wast,
The tutor and and the feeder of my riots:

Till then, I banish thee, on pain of death,

As I have done the rest of my *misleaders*,..”

Moreover, we should like to hint at a further signification of the word “staff”, being the same as “stave” = Fassedau, a name not at all improper for the bearer of so round a belly who concordantly is named by the prince “a tun of man” cf. II/4 l. 429 f. p. And finally, the word Falstaff contains as it were the word “fat” twice, firstly if we begin reading as usually, omitting the l & s, and especially reading the last syllable backwards. Now, if we remember that fat Falstaff is likened in the play to all sorts of grease: butter, keech and all, and that the poet multiplies puns and similes in the first part (cf. I/2 l. 77 f. p.), this explanation may perhaps be not so very unlikely.

As to the end of our Falstaff, he did not die of a sweat, as the poet foretells here, but more consistently, of a broken heart, killed by the king. “The king has killed his heart”. Henry V. II/1, 84. So Shak. may have felt himself the excess of punishment inflicted upon the stout man who after all was not wholly a rascal, and in whom the seeds of good had not been entirely washed away by all the floods of sack and canary; and we are convinced that in writing those words in Julius Caesar, spoken by the “imperator” himself:

“Let me have men about me that are fat

Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o’ nights;” the fat, sleek-headed knight of Henry IV. appeared before the poet’s eyes. Such men, indeed, would not have murdered Caesar, nor would such a man as Falstaff have tried to kill King Henry V. before his French expedition. Therefore it is perhaps no mere chance that the scene in which we hear of Falstaff’s broken heart is followed by another where the heart of the young monarch, on hearing that a man had betrayed him, in whom he had trusted so much, is near being broken too.

If Shak. promises “to make us merry with fair Katherine of France”, he keeps his word in the next historical play,

in which we rejoice at the natural conversation and the final betrothal of the French princess and King Harry. According to Hol. they were affianced at Troyes, in 1420 (Hol. III/113).

After having ended the first and chief part of our task, namely the comparison of Shak.'s Henry IV. with Holinshed, we give now a summary of it, and will then say a few words about the relation of the chronicle to the play, the 2nd part, starting here from Holinshed, whereas we did so there from Shakespeare.

Summary.

Henry IV. — I. Part.

Act I.

Scene I. Henry holds a council. The scene, invented by Shak., is based on Hol.'s account of Glendower's victory over Mortimer and of the battle of Homildon. Henry's contemplated crusade is unhistorical. Free treatment of dates.

Scene II. Prince Harry and his pot-companions. On the whole of Shak.'s imagination; some points traceable to the Fam. Vict., such as the Prince's partaking in robberies; whereas his intercourse with loose fellows is alluded to, but not emphasized, in the chronicle.

Scene III. Henry gives audience to the Percies. Based on Hol. The meeting is however transferred from Windsor to London.

Act II.

Scene I. Gadshill reconnoitring at Rochester. Invented by Shak. Here too a point of contact with the Fam. Vict.: the thief in the old play is addressed as Gadshill (the place where he robbed Derick).

Scene II. Falstaff and his companions are robbed by the Prince and Poins. Mostly of Shak.'s invention, only the framework of it, the idea of robbing, could come from the Famous Victories.

Scene III. Hotspur receiving letters at Warkworth Castle. Invented by Shak.; the historical references agree on the whole with Hol. .

Scene IV. The Prince's revelry in the Boar's-Head Tavern. Shak. executes the proposal of the Prince in the old play. The sham examination is likewise modelled on a similar scene in the *Fam. Vict.* »

Act III.

Scene I. The meeting of the chief conspirators at Bangor. Unhistorical, they in fact conferring by their respective deputies. The contents of the speeches on the whole accord with the chronicle. Some improbabilities.

Scene II. The King and his eldest son in earnest conversation. May be traced to Hol. as well as to the *Fam. Vict.*, the author of which has retained the fantastical dress of Harry, omitted by Shak. .

Scene III. Another bout at the Boar's-Head Tavern. In some measure a continuation of the first, in II/4.

Act. IV.

Scene I. The Rebel Camp near Shrewsbury: they weigh the chances of their undertaking.

The action is invented by Shak., but the speeches are on the whole based on the chronicle, especially that about Northumberland's sickness; some minor deviations.

Scene II. Falstaff with his ragged regiment. Shak.'s invention; a passage in Hol. may have been the source of the idea.

Scene III. The conspirators disagree about the next steps to be taken; the King sends Sir Walter Blunt.

Mostly in discrepancy with the chronicle.

Scene IV. The Archbishop of York sends letters to his friends. Invented by Shak. .

Act. V.

Scenes I. and II. The negotiations between the King and the rebels. Generally based on Hol.'s account, although

some details differ widely: The different parleys in Hol. are simplified by Shak. The names of the negotiators are at variance.

Scene III. The battle of Shrewsbury. In the main, based on Hol..

Scene IV. The issue of the battle; the rebels are vanquished. Based on the chronicle. Deviations: especially the King's rescue by the Prince; the Prince's victory over Hotspur.

Scene V. The dispositions of the King after the battle. The drama and the chronicle agree in general. Deviations: the liberation of Douglas without ransom is attributed to the Prince in the drama.

II. Part.

Act I.

Scene I. Words spoken by Rumour. Northumberland after the battle of Shrewsbury at Warkworth Castle. Hol. does not mention a rumour of the King's defeat at Shrewsbury, nor does he speak of a feigned sickness of Northumberland.

The scene at the castle is invented by Shak.; the Earl's preparations for war after the battle of Shrewsbury are historical; but he makes peace with the King soon afterwards, whereas the poet omits his temporary submission and makes the second rebellion, which happened two years later, immediately follow the first.

Scene II. Falstaff's meeting in the street with the Lord Chief Justice.

Invented by Shak..

Scene III. The conference of the conspirators. Likewise invented by Shak.; the historical allusions mostly agree with Hol..

Act II.

Scene I. Falstaff about to be arrested by the hostess. Invented by the poet. The historical references cannot be substantiated from Hol..

Scene II. The Prince, back again from Wales, forms with Poins the plan of observing in disguise their old boon companion.

Of Shak.'s invention and a parallel scene to I/2 f. p.

Scene III. The Earl of Northumberland's interview with his wife and daughter-in-law.

Unhistorical; the historical allusion (the Earl's resolution to go to Scotland) is predated.

Scene IV. The revelry in the Boar's-Head Tavern. Pistol is, after a quarrel, driven out of the inn. Falstaff observed by the disguised Prince and Poins.

Perhaps Shak. remembered the narrative of the vintner's boy in the Fam. Vict. about the quarrel in the tavern at Eastcheap.

Act III.

Scene I. The King conferring with his Lords about the new insurrection.

Invented by Shak.; the historical allusions are very freely treated; the poet in discrepancy with himself.

Scene II. Falstaff as recruiting-officer before Justice Shallow's.

Shak. took perhaps the idea of this funny recruiting scene from the Fam. Vict., where a captain presses some characters in the old play. The corruptness of such officers can be proved from Hol..

Act IV.

Scenes I. and II. The armies of the conspirators and the royalists meet in Gaultree Forest. A treacherous peace is concluded by the leaders of the latter and the rebels are destroyed.

On the whole based on Hol.; principal deviation: the poet makes Prince John play a much greater part than he does in Hol..

Scene III. Falstaff takes Coleville of the Dale prisoner and meets Prince John.

Invented by the poet, unless a scene of the *Fam. Vict.* where an English clown is taken prisoner by a Frenchman was floating in his mind.

Scenes IV. and V. Henry IV. holds a council; his resolution to undertake a crusade; he is attacked by a fit of apoplexy; in his swoon the Prince takes the crown away; the King dies in the Jerusalem Chamber after having forgiven his son.

Based on the chronicle and on the *Fam. Vict.*. Indication of place not clear in Shak. The poet represents the King's death as immediately following the events in Gaultrey Forest.

Act V.

Scene I. Falstaff arrives at the house of Shallow and is entertained as a guest. Invented by Shak. .

Scene II. The new King with his court. He forgives the Lord Chief Justice his former punishment, and prefers him.

Unhistorical as to Henry V.'s behaviour to the Chief Justice, whom Hol. states to have been banished from the court. Based on the *Fam. Vict.* which deviates on this point from Hol. .

Scene III. Sir John the guest of Shallow; the news of the old King's death brought by Pistol.

Invented by Shak.; the hope of preferment occurring however also in the *Fam. Vict.* .

Scene IV. Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet are arrested. Of Shak.'s invention.

Scene V. Falstaff accosts the King as the latter is returning from the coronation. He is rebuked and finally arrested. Based on the *Fam. Vict.*, but a passage of Hol.'s can also be adduced. The King in the old play is much less severe than in Shak., and no one is imprisoned.

As to the many events of so turbulent a reign as was that of Henry IV., the dramatist only treated three years at any length, the time from 1402 to 1403, with the battle of Shrewsbury, the year 1405, with the rebellion of Archbishop Scroop, and the last year of the usurper, 1413, or rather only his death. He represents these events, separated by intervals of two and eight years respectively, as almost simultaneous. He entirely neglected, or only made a few allusions to, events which occurred between 1403 and 1405 and those happening in the long space between 1405 and 1413, as will appear more clearly in the following statement, the second part of our treatise.

The reign of Henry IV., according to the chronicle of Holinshed, and its relation to Shakespeare's drama Henry IV.

Years	References
1399 30/9.	The proclamation of the King and the granting of offices at the coronation.
13/10.	The coronation of Henry IV.
	A parliament, the Bishop of Carlisle arrested.
	The Scots invade the borders.
	Thomas Mowbray dies in exile at Venice.
	The conspiracy of the Abbot of Westminster.
	Edward, Duke of Aumerle, is pardoned.
1400	The confusion of the rebels at Cirester.
	The murder of Richard II. at Pomfret Castle.
	The conveyance of the body to London.
	The ferment in Gascony; the message of Thomas Percy.
	The embassy from the French King concerning his daughter Isabel, Rich. II.'s consort.
	The Scotch war, caused by the flight of George of Dunbar.
	The Welshmen under Glendower begin to rebel.

Year		References
1400	The youth of Glendower is narrated. Henry enters Wales. The Emperor of Constantinople comes to England.	H. IV. III/1 l. 121, f. p. cf. H. IV. I/1 ll. 1—33 f. p. & dis. p. 14'
1401	A parliament, act against the dissenters. Henry's embassy to France, a truce for 26 years. Glendower's robberies. Attempt on Henry's life.	
1402	A blazing star. Lord Grey of Ruthen vanquished by Glendower. A conspiracy of priests. Owen Glendower overthrows Edm. Mortimer. The King does not deliver him. Henry's daughter marries William, Duke of Bavaria. The King's expedition against Glendower. The Scots overthrown at Nesbit.	H. IV. III/1 ll. 14/15 f. p. H. IV. f. p. I/1 ll. 36—46 H. IV. f. p. I/3 ll. 145—159 H. IV. f. p. III/1 ll. 64—67
14/9	The Scots vanquished again by Hotspur. Ed. Mortimer marries the daughter of Glend. Wonders reported at the nativity of Mortimer cf. dis. III/1 f. p. A new parliament, money granted.	H. IV. f. p. I/1 ll. 50—75 I/3 ll. 84—85 H. IV. f. p. III/1 ll. 13—17
1403	Henry contracts a new marriage. The French land in the Isle of Wight. The conspiracy of the Percies and the battle of Shrewsbury. The Earl of Northumberland approaches with his army after the battle. His submission. The clergy grants a tenth. The Bretons spoil and burn Plymouth. The English revenge.	Henry IV. First part

1403 A parliament, a General Pardon granted to the adherents of the Percies.

The French invade the Isle of Wight.

1404 A parliament in London, the Earl of Northumberland's restoration.

An extraordinary subsidy granted to Henry IV. cf. f. p. IV/3
l. 92

A French fleet appears before the Isle of Wight. Henry refuses the challenge of the Duke of Orleans. The latter enters Guienne.

The admiral of Brittany tries to land at Dartmouth.

Owen Glendower wastes the English marches. The conspiracy of the Countess of Oxford; she is committed to prison.

The Duke of Northumberland clears himself of having taken part in this conspiracy.

The Laymen's Parliament at Coventry; the clergy to be deprived of their possessions. cf. dis.
Act IV/2 f. p.

This is prevented by the interference of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The sea encroaches on the land in Kent.

1405 The sons of the Earl of March are abducted from Windsor. Lady Spenser arrested in this matter. She in her turn accuses her brother, the Duke of York. He is imprisoned. Thomas Mowbray accused.

Henry wants money, but can get nothing from the Lords. s. p. 1/3
ll. 74—75

15/3 The forces of the Prince of Wales vanquish the Welsh; the son of Glendower taken prisoner. s. p. II/4 l. 276
III/1 l. 103

The war in France in the environs of Calais.

Henry sends an army to Calais under his son Thomas. s. p. I/3 l. 71

1405 The English fight in Flanders and in Normandy. The Duke of Burgundy going to besiege Calais; he is called away by the French King.

The King prepares to go to Wales in order to chastise Glendower. s. p. 1/2

The conspiracy of Archbishop Scroop etc. }
The rebels are arrested after a treacherous peace. } H. IV. s. p.

Henry takes several of Percy's castles.

The Earl of Northumberland flees into Scotland. s. p. 11/3 l. 67

The King's luckless expedition against the Welsh. f. p. III/1 l. 67

The French expedition to Wales in order to aid Glendower against Henry. cf. dis. remark on s. p. 1/3 l. 71.

The French return to France without success. Nor can Henry penetrate into the country.

Henry's daughter is proclaimed Queen of Denmark and Norway.

1406 A new parliament; a subsidy at length granted. The Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolphe flee from Scotland to Glendower.

James, Prince of Scotland, is sent to France, but the ship is taken by the English, and the Prince brought to London.

The King's daughter sent over to Denmark. Jousts in London between English and Scottish knights.

The Duke of York's restoration.

1407 The Duke of Orleans besieges Bourges and Blois without success.

1407 The pest in London. Henry departs by ship;
he escapes being taken by French pirates.
The Prince of Wales besieges the castle
of Abiruswith.

A very cold winter.

1408 The Earl of Northumberland with Bardolphe
recovers some of his castles with the aid
of the Scots.

He penetrates into Yorkshire; the King as-
sembles an army, but the Earl is vanquished
and slain at Bramham Moor near Hazel-
wood by the sheriff of Yorkshire.

s. p. IV/4
ll. 97—101

The King goes to York to pacify the country.
Henry sends the Earl of Kent to sea in order
to destroy the pirates.

A disputation between the divines of Oxford
and Cambridge concerning their obe-
dience to the Pope.

The negotiations with France about the schism.

1409 Ambassadors appointed to go to the Council
of Pisa.

The King writes a letter to the Pope.

Wickliffe's doctrine maintained by certain
Oxford scholars. Sentence against heretic
books.

Jousts at London.

Owen Glendower dies.

s. p. III/11. 103

1410 A parliament; a motion concerning the con-
fiscation of spiritual possessions; the mo-
tion rejected by the King.

John Badly, convicted of heresy, burnt at
Smithfield; the Prince of Wales offers him
his pardon, if he will recant.

"For he is gracious, if he be observed: cf. s. p. IV/4
He hath a tear for pity and a hand Open ll. 30—33
as day for melting charity."

1410 The King wants money.

11/4 The town of Saint Omers consumed by fire.
A young Englishman is said to have caused the fire to destroy the engines which were to be employed against Calais.
Robert Umfreville's exploits in Scotland with his fleet.

He makes an inroad into Scotland by land.

1411 John Prendergest and William Long purge the seas from the pirates; but they are accused themselves of piracy.

1412 France troubled by the factions of Burgundy and Orleans. The Duke of Burgundy asks aid of Henry, a proposal of marriage between the Duke's daughter and the Prince of Wales. Henry supports the Duke.

The Duke of Burgundy vanquishes his adversary with the aid of the English forces. Creations of noblemen, Thomas of Lancaster created Duke of Clarence.

The faction of Orleans, persecuted by that of Burgundy, in their turn beg Henry for aid. A peace concluded between the two factions.

The Prince of Wales accused to his father. He goes to the court in a strange dress; he justifies himself and is dismissed with great love and affection.

f. p. 111/2

Notice of the Prince's character: he is "youthfully given and grown to audacity", but "his behaviour was not offensive or at least tending to the damage of anybody". cf. his character in the play.

"Procero qui natu maximus heres corpore".
The Duke of Clarence sent to aid the Duke of Orleans; but as peace is concluded

cf. f. p. 11/4
ll. 235—238

- 1412 between the factions, the English are desired to leave France. But they continue spoiling and gathering booty.
- 12/10 Three floods in the Thames. s. p. IV/41. 125
The Duke of Orleans sent to the English camp to entreat their departure. Clarence marches to Bordeaux.
- 1413 A council held, where an expedition to Palestine is resolved on. f. p. I/1
s. p. IV/4
- 20/3 Henry's IV. death and its circumstances. s. p. IV/4 & 5
Henry IV. buried at Canterbury.
Character of Henry IV..
The Duke of Clarence returns to England.
Enumeration of the writers who lived during the reign of Henry IV..
- The first events of Henry V.'s reign according to Holinshed.
- 1413 He takes upon him the government of Eng-
20/3 land.
- 21/3 He is proclaimed king.
Homage done to the King before his coronation, because great hope is put in him. cf. s. p. V/2
our remark.
- 9/4 The coronation. s. p. V/5
He determines "to put on the shape of a new man"; he dismisses his "misruly mates" and banishes them from the court. s. p. V/5
ll. 48—73
- The Chief Justice is likewise banished from the court, deprived of his office and the Duke of Clarence chosen in his stead. cf. s. p. V/2
our remark.
- He elects the most learned men to the offices of justice. s. p. V/2
ll. 135—139
- After Easter he calls a parliament. s. p. V/21. 134
s. p. V/51. 104
- Sir John Oldcastle, a captain high in the King's favour, is accused of heresy. After many vicissitudes he is burnt, 1417 near, London.

Hol.'s remark that he was high in the King's favour is the single point in which this knight and Shak.'s Oldcastle-Falstaff correspond with each other, unless one ventures to draw a parallel between the severe punishment of our corpulent gentleman and the martyr's death of the historical knight.

How freely Shakespeare dealt with the historical matter which he found in his authority, we have tried to prove in the above. As to the characterization of the persons occurring in the Drama, Shakespeare could find very little in Holinshed, nor could the rough work of the unknown author, at least as far as we can see, give the poet much matter in that respect.

The two parts of our drama, which could rather be called "The Youth of Henry V.", may perhaps not rank with the deepest works of Shakespeare, but they are as interesting for a disciple of Clio who wishes to see how a dramatist, and that the greatest of all, treated a time which lay two hundred years before his, as they are amusing for those who prefer Thalia.

In this noble contest of the two Muses, we are inclined to adjudge the crown of victory to the latter, and we believe her to have created, in the person of "Fat Falstaff", a hero in his way who will never disappear from the stage.

Lebenslauf.

Ich bin am 24. August 1870 in Siegen in Westfalen geboren, als Sohn protestantischer Eltern, des Fabrikanten Hermann Ax und seiner Frau Amalie, geborenen Kogler. Von 1876 bis 1880 besuchte ich die Volksschule und von 1880 bis 1887 das Realgymnasium meiner Vaterstadt und verließ mit dem Zeugnisse für Obersekunda die Schule. Mein Vater bestimmte mich zur kaufmännischen Laufbahn. So war ich von 1887 bis 1901 in der Sohlledergerberei meines Vaters und meines Oheims in verschiedenen Stellungen, zuletzt von 1895 bis 1901 als Prokurist und technischer Leiter tätig. Durch die ungünstige Lage der Sohllederindustrie im Siegerlande bewogen, entschloß ich mich 1901, meine Stellung aufzugeben. Nachdem ich zwei Semester an der Universität zu Lausanne und ein halbes Jahr in England verbracht hatte, bereitete ich mich zur Reifeprüfung vor, die ich im Jahre 1905 in Iserlohn ablegte. Dann widmete ich mich dem Studium der neueren Sprachen, besuchte die Universitäten von Berlin, Marburg und Freiburg i. Br. und bestand Anfang 1910 zu Karlsruhe die Prüfung für das höhere Lehramt.

Als Lehramtspraktikant war ich alsdann am Gymnasium in Lörrach und an der Realschule in Ettlingen tätig und wirke jetzt an der Bürgerschule zu Kandern, Kreis Lörrach.

Sources of the following dissertation:

- Hall's Chronicle*, London 1809, reprint. G. Woodfall, Printer.
Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, Volumes I, II, III & V. London, reprint of 1808.
The Famous Victories of Henry V., Neudruck in Hazlitt, Shakespeare's Library, London, Reeves and Turner, 1875.
Shakespeare's King Richard II.
" *First Part of King Henry IV.*
" *Second Part of King Henry IV.*
" *King Henry V.*

A. English Editions:

- Edition of Clark and Wright, Cambridge & London*, Macmillan 1864.
" " *Craig* (The Oxford Shakespeare).
The Falstaff Edition, London, Sands & Comp. 1899.
Facsimile of the First Folio.
King Henry IV., ed. by K. Deighton, London, Macmillan 1906.

B. German Editions:

- Edition of Nicolaus Delius*, Elberfeld 1872, Stereotyp-Ausgabe. Verlag von R. L. Friederichs.
Edition of Schlegel and Tieck, ed. by Brandl. Leipzig & Wien, Bibliograph. Institut.

Shakespeare's Holinshed, ed. by W. G. Boswell-Stone.
Ten Brink, Shakspeare, Straßburg 1907, bei Trübner.
Wetz, Vorlesungen über Shakespeare.
Büttner, Shakespeare's Stellung zum Hause Lancaster.
Paul Kabel, Die Sage von Heinrich V. bis zu Shakespeare, Berlin, Mayer & Müller 1908.
Wilhelm Baeske, Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare, Berlin, Mayer & Müller 1905.
Englische Studien, Leipzig, Reisland 1906, Band 37.
Herrig-Förster, British Classical Authors.
Wülker, Geschichte der englischen Literatur.
Suchier, Geschichte der französischen Literatur.
Le Mystère du Siège d'Orléans. Collection de Documents inédits pour l'histoire de France, Série I, publié par F. Guessard et E. de Cer-tain. Paris, Imprimerie impériale 1862.

Explanations.

- Hol.* means *Holinshed*.
Hol. III/27 means *Holinshed*, Volume III, page 27.
Shak. means *Shakespeare*.

Druckfehler-Berichtigung.

S.	8	Z.	14	v. o.	muß	es	richtig	statt	falsch	heißen
„	11	„	33	„	„	„	meritorious	February	„	Ferbruary
„	19	„	3	„	„	„	, „sweet	„	„	„ sweet
„	28	„	22	„	„	„	commentator	„	„	comentator
„	33	„	33	„	„	„	discontented	„	„	discontended
„	39	„	20	„	„	„	northern	„	„	nothern
„	48	„	34	„	„	„	presumptuous	„	„	presuntuous
„	51	„	27	„	„	„	anxious	„	„	anxions
„	52	„	13	„	„	„	great benefit	„	„	great, benefit
„	53	„	5	„	„	„	dangerous	„	„	dangerons
„	54	„	12	„	„	„	Douglas;	„	„	Douglas,
„	58	„	7	„	„	„	knowledge.	„	„	knowledge,
„	62	„	4	„	„	„	f. p.).	„	„	f. p.)
„	63	„	25	„	„	„	which	„	„	wich
„	66	„	7	„	„	„	unnatural	„	„	unnaural
„	67	„	19	„	„	„	reign	„	„	reign.
„	71	„	2	„	„	„	inglorious	„	„	inglorions
„	73	„	26	„	„	„	“being	„	„	“being
„	82	„	14	„	„	„	natural,	„	„	natural
„	82	„	29	„	„	„	reign.	„	„	reign
„	84	„	19	„	„	„	Fabian. Shak.	„	„	Fabian. Shak.
„	84	„	32	„	„	„	III/58:	„	„	III/58
„	92	„	25	„	„	„	Library, page	„	„	Library page
„	95	„	2	„	„	„	Westminster	„	„	Westminter
„	96	„	26	„	„	„	coronation-procession	„	„	„
„	96	„	16	„	„	„	, and to hear	„	„	„
„	102	„	18	„	„	„	Henry V. II/1, l. 84	„	„	„
„	103	„	27	„	„	„	Shak. .	„	„	„
„	112	„	Die letzte Zeile	„	„	„	fängt mit Open an.	„	„	„